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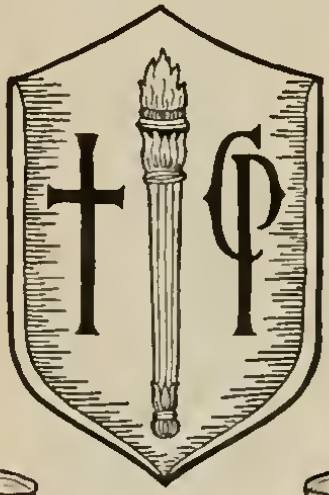
OF THE PACIFIC



GIFT OF

J. W. Mailliard, Jr.

* *

Napoléon, raconté par l'Image, d'après les Sculpteurs, les Graveurs et les Peintres (ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française). *Nouvelle édition remaniée.* — Un volume grand in-8°, illustré de gravures. Broché, 15 fr.; relié, 20 fr.

Le très grand succès remporté il y a quelques années, lors de l'incroyable renaissance de la légende napoléonienne, par le livre si original de M. Armand Dayot sur *Napoléon raconté par l'Image*, a encouragé l'auteur à donner une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage.

Innombrables sont les portraits, statues, bronzes, médailles, tableaux, gravures, armes, objets usuels, jalousement conservés dans les musées ou collections privées, qui, depuis Brienne jusqu'à Sainte-Hélène et jusqu'à l'apothéose de 1840, racontent, vivantes annales, l'histoire anecdotique ou héroïque du grand Empereur.

Parmi cette quantité prodigieuse de documents, M. Dayot a fait un choix judicieux et il nous offre, en un nouveau recueil remanié, plein d'excellentes reproductions accompagnées d'un commentaire dont l'agrément n'exclut pas la précision, le tableau le plus curieux et le plus achevé de la période napoléonienne et le plus propre aussi à nous faire comprendre, sous ses multiples aspects, l'origine, l'apogée et la décadence de cette formidable épopée.

*
* *

WITH NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

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John Stokes

WITH NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA:

BEING THE MEMOIRS OF DR. JOHN STOKOE, NAVAL SURGEON. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF PAUL FRÉMEAUX BY EDITH S. STOKOE

"J'aurais vécu jusqu'á quatre-vingts ans, s'ils ne m'avaient pas amené dans cette île maudite!"

NAPOLEON TO DR. JOHN STOKOE

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD
LONDON AND NEW YORK MDCCCCII

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INTRODUCTION

THE oft-repeated story of Napoleon's captivity was first told by four eye-witnesses. They were Dr. O'Meara, who wrote in 1819* and 1821,† Count Las Cases, in 1822 and 1823,‡ Dr. Antommarchi, in 1825,§ and Montholon, who wrote in 1847.‖ They told how the Emperor, who was banished to a pestilential island, was there deprived of the respect due alike to his position and to his misfortunes, and persecuted by a narrow-minded and brutal governor; how he was lodged in discomfort, and even prevented from corresponding with his wife and son.

* "Story of Events at St. Helena after Hudson Lowe's appointment."

† "Napoleon in Exile."

‡ "Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène."

§ "Mémoires du docteur F. Antommarchi, ou les derniers moments de Napoléon."

‖ "Récits de la Captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène."

The recital of such accounts made it appear that England's behaviour to her great prisoner was shameful, and unworthy of her.

Taking into consideration the origin and agreement of the narratives which called forth this verdict, it seemed to be fully justified. However a London lawyer, named William Forsyth, tried in 1853 to have it repealed, by making use of some of Sir Hudson Lowe's posthumous papers.

The first object of his book, which is really extremely clever, was to discredit the authors who had anticipated him. "Las Cases," he remarks, "did not hesitate to avow that the Emperor was the god of his idolatry, and at that shrine he thought it little to sacrifice the reputation of the officer to whose keeping his master was committed. . . ." As to Antommarchi, "his *amour propre* had been offended by his being subjected to the same regulations as the French residents at Longwood, and also by the earnestness with which Sir Hudson Lowe pressed upon the attendants of Napoleon the necessity of having recourse to additional medical advice when his illness became serious."

Montholon's assertions carried no more weight. Did he not say to an English officer, as soon as

he was safely back in France: "My good fellow, an angel from heaven would not have satisfied us as governor of St. Helena."

The arguments against O'Meara's evidence are more substantial. His private correspondence can be contrasted with his published writings, and his comments are not always the same. For this reason Forsyth sets him down as still less worthy of credence than Las Cases, Antommarchi and Montholon.

Having thus made a clean sweep of all evidence not in accordance with his theory, he based his "History of Napoleon's Captivity" largely upon memoranda left by Sir Hudson Lowe, without, apparently, considering that one who was speaking in his own favour, was at least as much open to the suspicion of partiality as the devoted attendants of the Emperor, who were pleading the cause of "their idol," if not even more so.

However that may be, the work found favour; public opinion on the subject was completely reversed.* The idea gained ground that England,

* Even in France, where, to give only one example, Forsyth's conclusions are adopted by a well-known encyclopedia, the *Dictionnaire Larousse*.

far from persecuting her prisoner, had lavished upon him every possible care and attention. Nor was this all; Napoleon was said to have rendered his warder's task most difficult by his exactions and his continual complaints. The unfortunate jailer was pitied. Strange paradox! It was Sir Hudson Lowe who was the victim at St. Helena!

It seems, however, that we must revert to the former opinion on this matter. Since Forsyth's day reports have been published which were issued by the Marquis of Montchenu, Count Balmain and Baron Stürmer, the three commissioners charged respectively by the King of France, the Czar, and the Emperor of Austria with the surveillance of "General Bonaparte's exile." One might expect that these writers, representatives of sovereigns who were friendly to George III. and hostile to Napoleon, would have a favourable account to give of the conduct of the English. By no means. Their criticisms are the same as those of Las Cases, O'Meara, Antommarchi and Montholon. Their charges against Sir Hudson Lowe are also the same.

In the present volume we have the testimony, scathing enough, of one of the last eye-witnesses

of the captivity. His name will not be unknown to those who have read the works of O'Meara, Montholon's account, or Balmain's letters. He is also mentioned by Forsyth, who misconstrues his story, for reasons which will appear later.

I found Dr. John Stokoe's memoirs in the possession of one of his great-grand-nieces, Miss Edith Stokoe, of London. Only one of the five MSS. books to which I had access treats of St. Helena. The other four, which are outside the scope of this work, record his long naval career.

He was born in 1775 at Ferryhill in Durham. At the age of twenty, in 1794, he entered the British Navy as Surgeon's Mate. In this capacity he was destined to participate in the interminable struggle between the fleets of his own country and those of the French Consulate and Empire.

He was first attached to a sloop-of-war, and was present at the bombardment of Copenhagen. Thence he was transferred to the *Monarch*, a ship of the line, to a frigate, the *Acosta*, and spent two years cruising in the Channel and the North Sea.

At Trafalgar he was on the *Thunderer*. From September 1805 to November 1808, he saw on

the same vessel the terrible siege of Gaeta, took part in the audacious expedition which forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and visited Sicily and Egypt.

The chances of war took him next to the blockade of the Ile de France. On his return he was appointed doctor to a prison-ship anchored in the Medway. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814 the Admiralty chose him to accompany from Cherbourg to Cronstadt a Russian battalion, which was being sent back to its own country by sea.

In 1815 and 1816, Dr. Stokoe did not leave Great Britain. He was stationed at Sheerness and Leith.

At the commencement of 1817 he started for St. Helena.

His narrative of the events in which he was concerned during his stay in the island abounds in fresh details. I should have liked to publish it in full, neither adding nor suppressing anything. But this proved impracticable. I had to deal with too unskilful a narrator. At one moment he is diffuse, launches into long digressions, and repeats himself unnecessarily. At another moment, and this is a more serious error,

he dismisses with a word facts which would only be comprehensible by the help of previous development and preliminary explanations. In some places the doctor would not be intelligible at all but for his own correspondence, and for an extremely interesting document, the account of the court-martial which condemned him at St. Helena for expressing his fears for the Emperor's health, and predicting a speedy end to his life as a result of the inhuman treatment he received. A simple recital would not be possible without notes which, being almost as voluminous as the text, would soon exhaust the reader's patience and make him throw the book on one side. I have therefore adopted a different plan, and have told the story in my own words, explaining it as it proceeds, in order to complete it within my pages and not at the foot or on the margin of them. I shall thus avoid continual references, which would prove tedious, while yet letting the author of the memoirs be, as often as possible, the speaker.

This method will have another advantage. Napoleon's captivity lasted from October 1815 to May 1821. Stokoe was only at St. Helena from June 1817 to September 1819. Naturally

he only relates the events which happened under his own eyes during this time. But the proposition is so simple as hardly to need statement: the intermediate acts in a drama lose greatly in meaning and interest when separated from the prologue and *dénouement.* Therefore this volume contains, in addition to the unpublished papers, the history, though condensed, of those sad years at St. Helena, the whole of which the English surgeon did not see, yet of which he could say, since he lost thereby his position, his record for a quarter of a century, and even, in the eyes of the malevolent and ill-informed, his honour, *quorum pars magna fui.*

P. F.

CHAPTER I

AT THE OUTSET OF THE CAPTIVITY

Stokoe appointed surgeon of the *Conqueror*, Admiral Plampin's flag-ship—He starts for St. Helena on March 15, 1817—The general ignorance in Europe of what was happening on the "island of exile"—State of affairs when Stokoe arrived (June 29, 1817).

In December 1816 a ship of the line was being fitted out at Portsmouth. This was the *Conqueror*, on which Sir Robert Plampin had just hoisted his flag. Dr. John Stokoe was offered the post of surgeon on this vessel, which was to start for St. Helena in the spring, and not to return until 1820.

It was no very tempting prospect, to remain so long upon a desolate island, a mere speck, 6000 miles from Europe, in the great expanse of sea lying between Africa and America! Stokoe had completed twenty-one years of service; he would soon be entitled to his retiring pension.

He might have finished his time in his own country, in a naval hospital in some quiet roadstead in Great Britain. His seniority gave him the right to a stationary appointment. If he still wished to wander, the English could easily give him a pleasanter station than St. Helena; in the Mediterranean, in India, or at the Antilles. He had only to make his choice and to ask for a post, which he was bound to receive.

Yet he preferred St. Helena. This barren rock, a short time before almost unknown, had suddenly become famous. England had chosen it for Napoleon's last pedestal. "I thought," said Stokoe, "that I should see the great man and probably have the honour of conversing with him—little did I think at that time that the honour would be so dearly purchased!"

The Emperor had then been for fourteen months in the solitude of the Southern Atlantic. Nothing was now known of him whose fame had caused his slightest gesture to be noted. No news came from the land of exile. George III.'s Ministers had isolated it from the rest of the world: they allowed no indiscreet correspondence to issue from it, even forbidding the

soldiers and sailors of the garrison to speak about Napoleon in their letters or to mention his name. The police and secret bureaus of Europe used every effort and gave every help that this silence might be maintained, and Louis XVIII. had agents in the principal ports, who watched the arrivals from St. Helena, dogged the footsteps of suspected travellers, and stole their papers.

For information about the island which the *Conqueror* with its 74 guns was to guard, Stokoe consulted the papers, but in vain—the press was under orders of silence.

Some pamphlets had appeared, professing to satisfy the universal curiosity. He obtained and read them. The information gained from these sources seemed very vague. Some of it, in its improbability, verged on the ridiculous.

A personage named Tyder, for example, boasted of having been able to "interview," as we should say nowadays, "the Imperial convict." Napoleon had confided to him that it would not be very difficult to escape from St. Helena. He might be inclined to make the attempt. In an "air-balloon gondola" he would cross the 1200 miles which separated

the island from the coast of Africa. He would civilise the negroes of this continent, and once more form a vast empire, summoning to him his partisans and brothers, his wife and son. In the meantime he amused himself with one of Madame de Montholon's maids, took snuff in huge quantities, and played at war in the following manner. "He had brought from France five or six cases containing 20,000 to 30,000 wooden men, two inches high, and of all colours, generals, officers, artillerymen, knights, and foot soldiers. With the help of his companions he placed them in battle array on a mahogany table, and all these battalions, broken up at will, set forth the movements of two hostile armies, one commanded by Bertrand, the other by Napoleon, whose army was always the victor."

More *bona fide* were the "Letters written on board the *Northumberland* and at St. Helena,"*

* "Letters written on board His Majesty's ship the *Northumberland* and at St. Helena, in which the conduct and conversations of Napoleon Buonaparte and his suite, during the five months of his residence in this island, are faithfully described and related by William Warden, surgeon on board the *Northumberland*." London, 1816.

by Dr. Warden. Unfortunately they consisted mainly of details as to the Emperor's campaigns, politics and past life, in the form of conversations between the author and Napoleon, or the members of his suite. His present position, far more interesting to Stokoe, was dealt with very briefly.

It was, however, depicted by Santini, in his "Appeal to the English Nation." This servant of Napoleon, whom Sir Hudson Lowe had banished from St. Helena, practically described the Emperor as dying of hunger on damp straw in a dungeon, with no food but "unsound meat" and "rotten bread, full of worms." But who could believe assertions so palpably exaggerated? Might one rely upon such information?

Stokoe read one more pamphlet, the sensational title of which seemed to promise much. Again a disappointment! The "Manuscrit venu de Sainte-Hélène d'une manière inconnue" only contained thoughts and maxims of government attributed to Napoleon by an imaginative writer.

The mystery surrounding the Emperor extended even to the geography of the island. Nothing definite was known of St. Helena. Its

shape and climate, its fauna and flora, its geology, population and fortifications were described in the most contradictory terms. Ernest Hoffman, a contemporary journalist, discussed the subject as follows :

" In an account just published in Paris, the anonymous writer declares that the island of St. Helena is circular in form : the map in Mr. Cohen's book represents it as a square : some travellers say that it is as much as fifteen miles in diameter ; others that its circumference scarcely measures twenty-one miles.

" Either through a printer's error, or intentional exaggeration, the population has been stated to be 24,000, whereas it amounts at the most to 3500, including the garrison.

" All travellers who have called there praise the mildness of the climate, the eternal spring and the evergreen freshness of favoured St. Helena. Lord Macartney asserts that the higher altitudes of this island are very cold, and that fruit hardly ripens there.

" Classic writers picture the Happy Isles in no more glowing colours than modern ones have used in regard to St. Helena. They speak enthusiastically of its charming valleys

and picturesque hillsides. It is another Otaheite, a miniature paradise. Yet, hear M. Bory Saint Vincent: The island is covered with ashes and volcanic scoriæ, and vegetation languishes. Naturalists regard St. Helena as the product of an eruption which suddenly raised it above the level of the sea. Lord Macartney declares that no part of it is of volcanic origin.

"According to some, rats are so numerous in this island that they prevent every kind of agriculture; according to others, these animals only damage cereals. Some affirm that an insect of a peculiar shape destroys all the pear and other European trees; others speak of the beauty of the trees, peach, apple and otherwise, which grow luxuriously in this fertile soil. Lord Valentia in particular saw peach-trees of every size, and flowers and fruits from the four quarters of the globe.

"To take the verdict of this nobleman, St. Helena is badly defended; the island could not resist a serious attack. The guns are mounted far too high above the level of the sea; they could do but little harm to vessels approaching the coast. The only fort containing properly mounted guns is situated in a spot devoid of

water. It would be an incalculable misfortune to allow this island to fall into the hands of the enemy ; therefore, he declares that it must be fortified afresh. But to turn to other accounts: St. Helena is a second Gibraltar ; no vessel can approach it without the risk of being blown to pieces ; nature has raised around the island an impregnable rampart ; the only three openings in a coast-line, 1200 feet high, are defended by numerous batteries ; a tiny creek, through which a solitary gunboat could hardly creep, is as well fortified as if it could give access to a fleet.

"Subjects about which a misunderstanding is hardly conceivable are described in as many diverse ways. Mr. Brooke, the author of the account translated by Mr. Cohen, declares that oak-trees naturalised at St. Helena grew with amazing rapidity and, contrary to the experience of botanists in every other country, acquired a density greater than that of any oak-trees in Europe. Lord Valentia said that the trees of St. Helena had soft spongy wood. Which of the two are we to believe ? Mr. Brooke lived on the island as Government Secretary, and must have been well acquainted with it. Lord

Valentia, on the other hand, owing to his rank and position, was in close communication with the Governor, and gathered from him all the details which he gives, besides which he crossed the island in every direction and remained there for thirty-five days, more than long enough to notice such a trifling matter. We must, therefore, remain in doubt on this point as on many others."

Such was the uncertainty on the subject of St. Helena when the *Conqueror* set sail for that island, March 15, 1817. The vessel arrived on June 29, a few weeks before the termination of Napoleon's second year of captivity. It would be difficult to understand the events in which Stokoe took part without a brief *résumé* of the history of this period.

St. Helena deserved neither all the good nor all the bad said about it. It is not a terrestrial paradise, nor is it a barren wilderness. It has dreary prospects and smiling plains, barren hills and fertile valleys, desolate lava and verdant meadows. In the same way its climate is pleasant or the opposite, healthy or unhealthy, according to the spot in question.

In shape it is neither round nor square; if one is particularly anxious to describe it in geometrical terms it might be styled an irregular trapezium containing about thirty-eight square miles.* An island lying near us, Jersey, has almost the same area; Paris is a third smaller, but London could absorb three St. Helenas.

The coast-line of St. Helena consists of a steep cliff, the peaks of which sometimes rise to upwards of 300 feet above the level of the sea. This rampart, broken by natural battlements, gives the island from "the sea the appearance of an enormous tower rising out of the ocean,"† to which three or four openings give access.

At the first glance the interior seems to be a confused chaos of hill-tops and rocks, but a huge mass of volcanic appearance dominates the whole. Diana's Peak, 3000 feet in height, with groups of trees at its base, gigantic heaths and tree ferns, like poplars, up its sides, commands the whole panorama of St. Helena. It is

* Robert Brown, in "Countries of the World," gives its area as forty-seven square miles. [E. S. S.]

† Emmanuel Las Cases, "Journal écrit à bord de la frégate la *Belle Boule*." Paris, 1841.

the mountain centre, the disproportionate St. Gothard of this tiny land. Its ramifications spread through the island in every direction, dividing it into a score of minute valleys. Most of the rivers issue from its basaltic sides, mere streams, the longest not having a course of five miles.

At the time of its discovery in the sixteenth century, St. Helena was entirely covered with trees. Colonisation has disafforested it. Its dense indigenous flora, with sombre ebony trees and immense greyish shrubs, has given place to an exotic one, more varied, but drawn from all sources. We find there now oaks, pines, and cypress, apples, peaches, pears and grapes from Europe; bananas and coffee shrubs from Asia; gum and guava trees from America; with African palms and the Australian eucalyptus.

The primitive savage fauna has likewise disappeared to give place to domestic animals introduced by Europeans. Some importations have been anything but advantageous. The goat, for example, by feeding on the young, tender shoots, has contributed to the nakedness of the island. The sparrow, brought for a freak, has prospered too well for the interests of the

harvests, as has the rat, which came of its own accord. On the other hand—and a poet might deem this symbolical—the bee, which scattered gold on the Imperial mantle, has never thriven at St. Helena.

On Napoleon's arrival the narrow spot which was to be his last home contained hardly 2000 people. Nine-tenths of them were to be found in the three streets of seventy houses which formed Jamestown, the capital. This city lies between two mountains which nearly meet, and at the mouth of a gorge, opening out into a bay on the north-eastern coast, to leeward. The town "could not have been built anywhere else, for it is nearly always impossible to land on the other side of the coast, where the waves, driven by the trade-winds, break in foaming fury." * In addition to its natural defences, St. Helena was fortified artificially. Even at the points considered inaccessible, batteries crowned the cliffs, forts bristled at the breech. Thus guarded, the cyclopean surroundings of the island became still more formidable. In particular, "the valley of Jamestown," said Count Montholon, "re-

* Elisée Reclus, "Géographie universelle: L'Afrique méridionale."

sembled an entrance to the infernal regions : no matter in what direction one looked, nothing was to be seen but rows of guns, and black walls, built as if by a demon's hand to bind together the rocky peaks." *

Except the port, a queer medley of houses, there were not above fifty cottages, farms and villas scattered over the interior of the island—and Plantation House. This latter was far above comparison with other buildings by reason of its relative splendour, its fine situation, shady surroundings and fresh water. All agree in describing the Governor's residence as "an extremely elegant mansion with extensive gardens."† "Rare plants grew there, brought from the most remote parts of the world and from climates the most opposite, yet all thriving in great luxuriance—all flourishing alike."‡ "The castle and its outbuildings suggest the country homes of our families with incomes of 25,000 to 30,000 francs. Within the enclosures

* "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." Paris, 1847.

† Montholon, "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur."

‡ O'Meara, "Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from St. Helena." London, 1822.

of Plantation House one might imagine one's self in Europe."* All distinguished travellers passing through St. Helena were entertained there. It was the only dwelling in the island worthy of sheltering Napoleon ; yet he was not even a guest there for the first night. He landed on October 15, 1819, and awaited his final installation at Longwood, delayed until December 10, in the house of a private gentleman named Balcombe. It was merely a summer residence, of one storey and a garret, called The Briars, situated a mile and a quarter from Jamestown. This presages no generosity in England's treatment of her prisoner.

A group of incongruous buildings constructed for farming purposes out of the most diverse materials, "Longwood was uninhabitable when it was chosen as the residence of the Emperor and of the numerous suite whom it was essential to place near him as attendants and guards.

"An old cow-house, built of stone and turned into five rooms, a barn transformed into kitchen,

* Las Cases, "Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, tout ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois." Bruxelles, 1822–1823.

wash-house and poultry-house for a small family, and a wretched stable, hardly large enough for three or four horses, composed the whole establishment." *

A few hasty repairs were done, the dung was swept up. "With a few pieces of furniture, which the inhabitants were doubtless glad to dispose of at a price which allowed of their being advantageously renewed," † the place was considered fit for the reception of Napoleon. Hardly was he installed there when his bedroom floor sank in ; the wood was rotten, "foul water gushed out." ‡

The foundations were "of soft lava, dressed like rough stone, which rendered the dampness unbearable in the rainy season." § The ceilings were, as a rule, so low that a man standing upright nearly touched them. "The roof in some parts was nothing but brown paper, smeared

* Montholon, "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." Paris, 1847.

† Las Cases, "Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, tout ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois." Bruxelles, 1822–1823.

‡ Montholon, "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." Paris, 1847. § *Ibid.*

over with a composition of pitch and tar melted."* This economical covering cracked in the sun, making chinks through which the rain dropped. In short, under such a roof one was either broiled or soaked.

The lack of space compelled Napoleon to take his baths in a passage. Las Cases' son slept in a barn, reached through a trap-door by means of a ship's ladder. Count Bertrand, with his wife and children, lived beyond the walls in a kind of cottage, "at Hut's Gate," and General Gourgaud in a tent.

Later on there were some improvements and additions, but need one say that Longwood, made up of odds and ends, was never comfortable? Besides, its faults of construction and lack of accommodation were not its greatest drawbacks. The worst point of all was its situation.

Longwood is situated upon the east coast of St. Helena, "on which the waves, driven by the trade-winds, break in foaming fury." These winds which so rouse the Southern Atlantic do

* O'Meara, "An Exposition of some of the Transactions that have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe." London, 1819.

not, as London official reports would wish one to believe, become "refreshing zephyrs" as soon as they touch the coast. Their violence penetrates inland. Wherever no obstacle meets them they lay waste the trees, blast the ground, and bring misery alike to man and beast; for they blow almost invariably throughout the year, with the enervating and relentless persistence which sometimes characterises the mistral of Provence.

Nothing is, however, easier than to escape them, thanks to the irregular surface of St. Helena. They do not reach the valleys lying to the north or west, and those to the east and south are not without protecting slopes. Houses then can be, and as a matter of fact are, sheltered from the trade-winds. Jamestown took care to crouch down in a deep gorge, entered from the still, western side, and high peaks protect Plantation House, where the vegetation is magnificent, the climate delightful.

Longwood alone, on a plateau 1800 feet above the sea, bears the full brunt of the south-easterly gales. For five years and a half Napoleon lived in a perpetual whirlwind.

The persistency of the trade-winds is not their only drawback. They carry with them vapour

which passes continually over Longwood in the form of clouds, and either falls as tropical showers, or condenses at evening into thick fogs which rest on the ground. The annual rainfall, says Reclus, "for 140 days is 26·968045 inches* at Jamestown, where the air is comparatively dry. But at Longwood among the mountains the average is more than forty inches per annum. A damp fog almost always lies on the grass, and drops fall from the leaves." †

The list of the discomforts of Longwood would not be complete without mention of the fact that drinking water was scarce, muddy and unwholesome; that the weather was not often fine and bright, but when such was the case the sole protection against the tropical heat of a

* A. H. Keane, in "Africa," gives the rainfall at Jamestown as being twenty-eight to thirty inches per annum; at Longwood the average is as high as fifty inches. [E. S. S.]

† Compare on this point, "St. Helena; a physical, historical, and topographical description of the island," by John Ch. Mellis. London, 1875. "St. Helena," by E. Masselin, capitaine du génie. Paris, 1852. The Government of the Second Empire having bought Longwood from the English in 1858, Captain Masselin was ordered to restore the rooms inhabited by Napoleon to their former condition. He spent three years on the island.

vertical sun consisted in one solitary kind of tree, the gum-wood tree, "the ugly little pale leaves of which are clustered together at the ends of the branches." * The gum-wood tree "affords food for millions of large blue flies, that are very fond of a saccharine juice which at certain seasons of the year exudes from the tree." † These insects were most irksome to the dwellers at Longwood, but their visit was less feared than that of the rats, which were so numerous that regular hunting-parties were instituted against them, and so bold that "it is a fact that one of these noxious animals sprung out of his [Napoleon's] hat when he was going to put it on one day after dinner." ‡

Such was Longwood, an unhealthy site and dismal landscape, deluged by rain, scourged by storms, where ghost-like trees, at the mercy of the trade-winds, were bent as if perpetually on the verge of flight.

Why was the Emperor relegated to such a

* Montholon, "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." Paris, 1847.

† O'Meara, "An Exposition of some of the Transactions which have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe." London, 1819. ‡ *Ibid.*

place? Primarily for reasons of safety. The peculiarity of the plateau is that it forms what one might call a terrestrial islet within the marine island of which it is a part. Its shape is oblong. On one side, to the east, it faces the sea and overhangs from a great height an inaccessible strand. On two other sides, north and south, it extends further out, and is bounded by precipices with marshy bottoms where Napoleon one day nearly fell into a quick-sand. A narrow isthmus, crossed by the road leading to Jamestown, is the bridge connecting the plateau on the fourth side with the rest of St. Helena. This outlet was guarded by a large body of soldiers and three and a half miles of circumference enclosed by a wall.

It was thought that by placing Napoleon in the midst of all these obstacles all chance of escape was obviated. An opinion open to question —a superfluous precaution. Prisoners have escaped from quarters better fortified than this, and without having at their disposal either the means or the devoted servants which the Emperor could command. To leave the plateau secretly would have been easy. The difficult, almost impossible, feat would have been to leave

St. Helena and to escape the cruisers patrolling the ocean.

But the safety of Napoleon's person was not the sole reason for the choice of Longwood. The most natural thing would have been to give the Emperor Plantation House, the best residence on the island. Actuated by petty spite, the authorities decided to lodge him less comfortably than the Governor, that he might feel his dependence the more keenly, and in order to emphasise the fact that he was considered below this functionary in rank.

The former master of Europe was refused the title of sovereign. On this point it will be edifying to read the jesting indulged in by Sir George Cockburn, the admiral charged with the care of Napoleon's person until Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival. "I have the honour," he wrote to Count Bertrand, "to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and note of yesterday's date, by which you oblige me officially to explain to you that I have no cognisance of any Emperor being actually upon this island, or of any person possessing such dignity having (as stated by you) come hither with me in the *Northumberland*."

Another time: "As I have already had the

honour to remark to you in my letter of November 6 last, I have no knowledge of the person designated by you 'the Emperor,' there being no person on this island entitled to such dignity, *Kings* being actually at the head of our respective countries, and there being more than one nation in Europe, and elsewhere, ruled by *acknowledged Emperors*." And to the Minister, Lord Bathurst, to whom all written communications concerning Napoleon were to be addressed and whose heart was rejoiced by this quizzing: "I beg leave to remark to your lordship upon this curious note, that, although the tenor of it prevents me entering at all into the merits of M. de Bertrand's statement, yet General Bonaparte (if by the term 'Emperor' he meant to designate that person) . . ." *

On other occasions the witty admiral's lack of good feeling developed into absolute rudeness. He often, in speaking to Napoleon, affected most unbecoming familiarity, and pointedly resumed his hat while in his presence. Or, he would address him as "General," putting a strong ironical intonation on the title. Yet

* For all this correspondence see Forsyth's "History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena." London, 1853.

Sir George Cockburn was better than one might suppose ; he was one of those people whose pride it is to appear rough and uncultured. His actions partially redeemed his behaviour. He never condescended to the worrying and petty restrictions so much practised by his successor.

He was always anxious to supply the needs and sometimes even to meet the fancies of his illustrious prisoner. At The Briars, for example, he removed the sentinels, whose close proximity annoyed the Emperor. Anxious that he should have a properly supplied table, he ordered that "the best of everything should be procured for the French people regardless of cost." * For these reasons Napoleon said of the admiral : "We shall perhaps miss our bully." And indeed there was every reason to regret his departure as soon as Sir Hudson Lowe appeared upon the scene.

The man definitely appointed by England to be the custodian of the Emperor arrived at St. Helena on April 14, 1816. His appearance

* O'Meara, "An Exposition of some of the Transactions that have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe." London, 1819.

was not prepossessing. He was extraordinarily thin, with a stiff carriage ; he had a long bony face blotched with red, and scanty hair, of a dirty yellow colour. His hollow eyes gleamed under thick reddish eyebrows, but were furtive and restless, never looking straight at any one save by stealth. "That is a bad man," declared Napoleon, when he had seen him. "His eye, as he examined me, was like a hyena's caught in a trap."* He really resembled this horrid, sly animal in its walk, as well as in hair and eyes. "He never sat down when he was talking, but swung about hesitatingly and with abrupt jerks." †

His first act was a sort of challenge to the French to desert their Emperor. He had hardly taken up his residence at Plantation House when he informed them that they were all free to leave St. Helena at once, and those among them who desired to do so should have every facility for their return to Europe. This kind offer had not the desired effect.

The Governor changed his tactics, and a few days later, under the pretext of reducing the expenses at Longwood, he shipped off Captain

* Montholon, "Récits de la captivité." † *Ibid.*

Piontkowski and three of the Emperor's servants, Santini, Rousseau and Archambaud. "The loss of three of those people," Forsyth owns, "was not unproductive of inconvenience to him, as Santini was his tailor and hair-cutter and gamekeeper, Rousseau a most ingenious artificer, and Archambaud one of his postillions."*

Simultaneously with these useful servants the Emperor lost part of the liberty which he had hitherto enjoyed. He was allowed to traverse the island under the escort of an English officer. But, as he refused to submit to humiliating surveillance, he never left the circuit of a dozen or so miles where he could walk without a guard. This space was considerably diminished, and he was requested "no longer to enter into conversation with the persons he met with in the course of his walks."

Other restrictions imposed by Sir Hudson Lowe made him detested by those under his sway. "You are a Lieutenant-General," said Napoleon to him, "and you should not perform your duty as if you were a sentinel."† In a position needing penetration, tact, and

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena." London, 1853. † *Ibid.*

consideration, he showed, indeed, nothing but devotion to routine, narrow-mindedness, and severity. Nature intended him for a *gendarme* or an inspector of police. This was evidenced at every turn.

One day at Longwood he arrested with his own hands a servant whom Count Montholon had engaged without his leave. In November 1816, Las Cases tried to send a letter to Europe surreptitiously; he went, at the head of his staff, to take him into custody in the Emperor's presence. He overwhelmed with questions and put through the most absurd examinations persons who accidentally or continually were unfortunate enough to have intercourse with Napoleon. He drew up reports of the most trifling incidents, and was for ever employed in making interminable records about nothing at all. Forsyth, his biographer, found chests full, enough for thirty folios. But, in spite of indulging in ridiculous extremes of vigilance, he lived in perpetual terror lest his prisoner should escape.

It was not so very long since he had been unable with 1500 men to hold Capri, justly considered as impregnable, against General

Lamarque, with his force of 3000. This remembrance haunted him. He was always afraid that an expedition would be organised in America to deliver Napoleon, that some troop of bold adventurers would one day attack St. Helena.

"I should not be surprised," says the Marquis de Montchenu in his report, "to hear some day that his little head had given way under the enormous responsibility of guarding an inaccessible rock defended both on land and on sea by an army. . . .

"The garrison of St. Helena consists of the 53rd Regiment, comprising 600 men, of the 66th with 700, the island regiment with 600, and four companies of the Royal Artillery, each numbering 60 men. No one can walk on the left side of the island without express personal permission from the Governor, not even those who reside there. No one can go to and fro in the island after gunfire without the password, which is not easily to be obtained; sentinels are posted everywhere. There is also a staff large enough for an army of 30,000 men. . . .

"There are twenty-three mouths where the

rivers flow into the sea, but not four of these are large enough to allow of landing a few men in a gunboat, and even that could hardly ever be done, the breakers are too strong. Nevertheless, these points are defended by batteries. . . .

"The harbour is guarded by the *Newcastle*, a frigate is stationed at the other extremity of the island. Two brigs cross one another and pass continually to and fro in the sight of the harbour, without entering it. At sunset all the gunboats must be beached, they are called over, and nothing is allowed to go out after five o'clock or before sunrise."*

In spite of so many precautions, Sir Hudson Lowe was devoured by fear. "He is a narrow-minded man," writes Count Balmain, "a man who is overwhelmed and shaken by the responsibility resting upon him, who is frightened at the slightest thing, racks his brains over nothing at all, and hardly achieves with a great deal of trouble what any one else would do almost without moving. As soon as he is questioned

* Georges-Firmin-Didot, "La Captivité de Sainte-Hélène, d'après les rapports inédits du marquis de Montchenu." Paris, 1894.

about Bonaparte, or any of his suite, he frowns ; he believes that a trap is laid for him, and he only gives half a reply. He tells one fact and conceals another, explains everything backward, quibbles with his words, and thoroughly confuses you. Then he has a way of flying so easily into a rage. To meet with the slightest opposition throws him into a fury, he does not know what he is saying or where he is, and loses his head utterly, so that it is impossible to bring him to his senses. To have to do with him and to be on good terms are two impossibilities." *

The same criticisms appear in Baron Stürmer's letters. "I do not know," remarks the Austrian Commissioner, "how it is that Sir Hudson Lowe always ends by getting on bad terms with everybody. Overwhelmed by the weight of responsibility resting on him, he fusses and worries himself continually, and is impelled to worry others.

"It is difficult to understand how the English Ministry could be infatuated with such a man.

* "Le prisonnier de Ste.-Hélène, d'après les rapports du commissaire russe." Publié par la Revue bleue. Paris, mai-juin, 1897.

If they only needed an ordinary gaoler, nothing was easier than to find one. But if the British nation attaches any importance to the judgment of posterity they could not have made a worse choice."*

An excellent selection was made in placing next to Sir Hudson Lowe, at the head of the squadron stationed at St. Helena, an officer who, in personal appearance, character, and behaviour, was a striking contrast to the Governor. A handsome old man with a frank and martial air, Admiral Malcolm, with his exquisite manners, his kindliness and uprightness, was a perfect specimen of a true gentleman. Though passionately devoted to his duty, he did not consider it incompatible with the generosity due to a fallen enemy, or to respect for a great man struck by ill fortune. He paid Napoleon frequent visits, sent him newspapers, lavished upon him all kinds of little attentions, and protected him from needless annoyance and restrictions. But this considerateness brought him into daily conflict with Sir Hudson Lowe, and his inter-

* "Die Berichte des Kais. Kön. Commissärs Bartholomäus, Freiherrn von Stürmer, aus St. Helena." Herausgegeben von Dr. Hans Schlitter. Vienna, 1886.

course with Plantation House had become very strained when, about the middle of the year 1817, the *Conqueror* arrived in Jamestown harbour. Sir Robert Plampin, whose flag this vessel bore, had come to take the place of Sir Pulteney Malcolm. As Forsyth delights to inform us, the new Admiral would be on the best of terms with the Governor. Stokoe is about to explain the reason for the good understanding between them. It redounds to the honour neither of Sir Robert Plampin nor Sir Hudson Lowe.

CHAPTER II

INCREASED RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED UPON THE EMPEROR

Admiral Plampin's mistress—Stokoe's interview with Napoleon—O'Meara, the Emperor's first doctor, sent back to England by the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe—Stokoe's name mixed up in some clandestine correspondence ; he is regarded with suspicion.

"THE day of our departure from England," writes Stokoe, "gave us a very unexpected passenger. Early in the morning a boat had been on shore to the Isle of Wight, and while we were getting under weigh returned with a lady who, to the surprise of many, proved to be Mrs. Plampin. Her coming on board at that time, and not from Portsmouth, excited suspicions unfavourable to the lady, for none of us supposed that the Admiralty would have denied a passage to the wife of the Admiral.

"Our suspicions gained strength as we pro-

ceeded and were confirmed on our arrival at St. Helena."

There being great lack of feminine society at St. Helena, any new arrival aroused intense interest. No sooner were the officers of the *Conqueror* seen on the quay at Jamestown than they were plied with questions, one of the first being, "Is Admiral Plampin a married man?" "Has he brought his wife out with him?" Laughing in their sleeves, the officers answered in the affirmative.

However, the Admiral landed alone. He proceeded alone to Plantation House to call upon the Governor. Next day he repeated his visit, in order to make his bow to Lady Lowe, and spent more than an hour in her society, but neither to her nor to Sir Hudson did he mention the pseudo Lady Plampin. So the storm burst forth.

"Its fury was most severe at Plantation House. The ladies who formed the court of the queen of the island were unanimous in the opinion that the Admiral's conduct was the grossest insult that could possibly be offered them, considering that he was the second in rank in the island. They regarded it as the

Governor's duty to punish him severely. The report soon spread from Plantation House that the lady would be immediately sent off the island, that the Admiral would be reported, and in all probability recalled. These rumours, no doubt, reached his ears, together with the curious fact that he had been preached at from the pulpit."

Sir Robert Plampin, in the greatest consternation, had recourse to Sir Hudson Lowe. Any one willing to play into the Governor's hands might make what terms he liked with him. The Admiral promised to be more accommodating than his predecessor, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, had been. The Commander-in-Chief of a naval station had every right to independence of action. He renounced all such prerogative, and promised unreserved co-operation in any harsh measures against Napoleon. In return he only wanted one favour shown him—that he might live as he liked. The Governor agreed to these terms, so the clergy had to cease their denunciations and Lady Lowe's court their gossip. Sir Robert brought his mistress on shore and installed her at The Briars, the very place which had been the

Emperor's abode for seven weeks. This was a wild solitary spot, at an equal distance from Jamestown, Plantation House and Longwood, the three centres of the social life of the island ; it was thus an ideal place for such a *ménage*.

A price would have to be paid for this agreement, entered into by the Admiral and the Governor, and it was the officers of the squadron and the Emperor, but more especially the latter, who would have to pay it.

Dr. Stokoe has omitted all personal description of this lady, the subject of so much gossip and excitement, whose arrival caused a momentary revolution in St. Helena. He tells us nothing as to her appearance or her age, but she must surely have been young, or her lover would hardly have set at naught all convention and brought her so far. The very law of contrasts would induce one to ascribe to her both beauty and youth, for Admiral Plampin was nearly sixty, and of far from prepossessing appearance. "He reminds me," said Napoleon, "of one of those drunken little Dutch schippers that I have seen in Holland, sitting at a table with a pipe in his mouth, a cheese and a bottle of geneva before him." *

* "Napoleon in Exile."

The dwellers at Longwood were cognisant of the scandal provoked by the conduct of the subject of Napoleon's amusing little word-sketch.

"Napoleon," says O'Meara, "blamed Mr. Boys for having in a sermon referred to the Admiral's conduct." A footnote amplifies this brief remark. "Mr. Boys had thought it a duty to mention something from the pulpit, in censure of an official person, for having set an example of immorality to a small colony, by publicly living with a woman not his wife." *

Both O'Meara and Stokoe had the best of reason for hating the Admiral. Did the story of the gallant commander's amours rest solely upon the testimony of the two surgeons, they might be suspected of having invented it for motives of revenge. However, General Gourgaud, in his "Journal de Ste. Hélène," writing on June 19, 1817, of the approaching arrival of the *Conqueror*, which had been signalled from the Cape, says that "the new Admiral is said to be accompanied by a woman," and asks in jest, "Will Lady Lowe receive her?" †

* "Napoleon in Exile."

† "Journal inédit de Sainte Hélène," publié par MM. de Grouchy et Guillois, à Paris, chez Flammarion, 1899.

Three weeks later Count Balmain wrote to his Government : " Admiral Plampin is a timid man, whose one wish is to live in peace and to meddle with nothing. He has seen Bonaparte once, and made no impression upon him, but he is quite unconcerned. To the scandal of the whole rock he has brought a lady with him, to whom he has given his name ; but she is only his mistress. Every one has a fling at him for this." Feeling that he held in his hand this commander, who must needs spend his whole time on the island in quarantine, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote as follows to Lord Bathurst : " Admiral Plampin seems to have decided to attempt no interference whatever. If he took any steps, it would be in order to assist me." No doubt it would !

This story of Plampin's mistress, touched upon by O'Meara, Gourgaud and Balmain, is not mentioned at all by other writers on the subject of the captivity, yet they could not be ignorant of it. Montholon, Baron Stürmer, the gossiping Marquis de Montchenu, must al. have been acquainted with it. Elizabeth Balcombe, the author of the " Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon," might have given us much

interesting information about this person, a dweller under her own roof. There is nothing wonderful in the fact that panegyrists such as Forsyth did not care to draw attention to such a dangerous subject. What is remarkable, however, is that the writers on the other side are equally reserved. Doubtless they would have considered it bad taste to draw a woman into questions with which they considered her to have no concern. No one seems to have suspected the enormous, though involuntary, influence which her presence would exercise on events within the island from July 1817.

Yet, owing to her presence, the Emperor's position was to become even more unpleasant than before, the harshness of his captivity was to be increased. According to Sir Hudson Lowe, the narrow confines of St. Helena formed a territory too vast for one who, but the other day, was master of half a continent. The English Ministry had severed the island from the rest of the civilised world—he would sever Longwood from the remainder of the island. He had long been evolving a plan which was to completely isolate the French on their dreary plateau, depriving them of all society, and to take from Napoleon,

whose health was already beginning to be undermined, his favourite physician, O'Meara. Sir Pulteney Malcolm had been recalled. The Admiral sent to replace him, himself in a false position, had surrendered all authority, and would not dare to interfere. The Governor felt perfectly safe to indulge in any abuse of his power—he did not fail to take full advantage of his freedom.

In truth Sir Robert Plampin, an almost uneducated sailor with little intelligence and less heart, was powerless to understand a great misfortune, and incapable of showing the fallen monarch the delicate attentions which his predecessor had freely lavished upon him. Still, but for the "cannon ball" which his misconduct had fastened to his foot, he would not in all probability have become Sir Hudson Lowe's devoted adherent, and the eager accomplice in his malicious acts.

O'Meara, when worsted in his struggle with the Governor and banished from St. Helena, will appeal in vain to Sir Robert Plampin, his real superior and natural protector, for redress after the plundering of his baggage and the robbery of his money and jewellery. A little later we

shall see that when Stokoe in his turn falls a victim to Sir Hudson Lowe's enmity, the servile Admiral will become the violent accuser of his own surgeon, a man whom he ought to have used all means in his power to defend.

The effects of this treaty between Admiral and Governor soon began to be felt. First came the publication of the following order, issued by the former: "All officers of H.M. Navy, whatever their rank, are strictly forbidden to visit Longwood and its dependencies, or to communicate in any way, by writing or otherwise, under any pretext, with the foreigners detained in the island, without having first presented an explicit and detailed request to the Commander-in-Chief, and obtained his permission."

This order caused Stokoe and his comrades the keenest disappointment. For months their one dream had been that they would see Napoleon. The suggestion that they could ask the Admiral's permission appeared to them to have but little value; they divined that he was hand in glove with the Governor, and hoped little from his good offices.

Yet one hope remained. Hitherto, on the

arrival of a military or naval force, its commander had taken his officers to Longwood in a body, to present them to Napoleon. Sir Pulteney Malcolm did not fail to observe this custom; would Sir Robert Plampin conform to it? For several weeks the matter remained doubtful. At last, "our impatient inquiries of the Admiral's secretary extorted the confession that we were not to be introduced at all, as it was not the wish of Sir Hudson Lowe."

The decision fell the more hardly upon those concerned that, through a coincidence, they could not but feel themselves singled out for exceptionally severe treatment. At that very time a battalion of infantry was on the point of leaving St. Helena. Before embarking, the whole staff, with General Sir George Bingham at its head, went to take leave of Napoleon. This gentleman, of course, was not in Sir Robert Plampin's delicate position; he, too, had brought a lady to the island, but the lady was his lawful wife. There was therefore no reason why he should not, as indeed he did, return two days later to Longwood, with the officers of the relieving battalion. But these were the last courtesies shown to Napoleon. The

Governor's tacit disapprobation had long been known; in the end he confirmed it by a formal prohibition. Since to see the great captive was out of the question, all on board the squadron eagerly sought for information as to his words and actions. For this purpose O'Meara's acquaintance was cultivated; as Napoleon's doctor he was overwhelmed with questions. He dined several times on board the *Conqueror* and invited his hosts in return to visit him at Longwood, in the dwelling which he occupied near the Emperor. These invitations were a good excuse for seeking the Admiral's permission to enter the prohibited precincts, a permission sometimes granted, "and from that time," as Stokoe quaintly puts it, "we could always entertain the hope of getting a peep at the Lion looking from his door or windows, for he had now shut himself up in his apartments, and refused all exercise in the open air, in consequence of the additional restrictions imposed by the Governor."

Chance gave Stokoe far better fortune than he had dared to hope for. On his second visit to Longwood, October 10, 1817, he not only saw the Emperor but spoke to him.

"O'Meara and I had been walking for some time about the grounds at a considerable distance from the house, when we saw Napoleon come out of the billiard-room, accompanied by Count and Madame de Montholon. After taking a few turns before the house, he seated himself on the steps, with Madame de Montholon beside him, and with his back towards us. We approached to the distance of fifty yards and stopped for a minute or two, then turned to walk away. The Count came to O'Meara and asked who I was; he returned to Napoleon, and came back immediately, saying the Emperor would be glad to see me.

"I was delighted, and yet I felt a dread in approaching the man whose fame as a warrior had reached the remotest corners of the earth.

"I followed the Count who, on coming near, took off his hat, and presented me. I did the same and made my best bow, remaining, as the Count did, with my hat off, when Napoleon, after slightly touching his, addressed me in the following words: 'Surgeon *Conqueror*, man-of-war. Fine ship.' Upon this O'Meara informed him I spoke Italian.

"On looking behind me I saw that O'Meara

had his hat on, and I supposed that I should have followed his example, but it was then too late. I could not have put it on without being guilty of rudeness, therefore I remained uncovered to the end of the interview.

"The first question asked in Italian was what part of Italy I had been in. I answered that Gaeta was the only place on the Continent that I had landed at, but that I had been about three years in the Mediterranean, and the greater part of that time in Sicily.

"'Ah! a beautiful island, a little better than this one! Are you senior to O'Meara?'

"'Yes, sir, by ten years.'

"'Then you can command him? What service have you seen?'

"'I was surgeon of a 74 in the battle of Trafalgar, and in the passage of the Dardanelles.'

"'What countryman are you?'

"'From the north of England.'

"'That is a mountainous country, is it not?'

"'It is.'

"'Are you married?'

"To this question I stupidly replied 'non ancora,' when I observed a smile on Madame

de Montholon's face, and I thought there was a faint reflection of it on Napoleon's countenance, which I was puzzled to account for. O'Meara explained it afterwards by telling me that I only confirmed the common report on the island that I was paying my addresses to the eldest Miss Balcombe.* This report arose from my having attended the young lady soon after our arrival during a serious illness. On her recovery we were often seen together on the public walk. The people of St. Helena, accustomed to see marriages take place after a very short courtship, soon made up their minds that we were to make a match of it. As it did not take place so soon as they expected they chose to account for its failure in their own way; *i.e.*, by saying that I could not obtain the consent of the father by reason of my age.† This story may have reached Longwood shortly before my interview and will account for the effect of my foolish reply, which, however, pro-

* Jane Balcombe. Elizabeth Balcombe, author of the "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon," was the younger.

† Dr. Stokoe was then forty-two. Jane Balcombe, seventeen or eighteen.

cured for me a very high and unexpected compliment, nothing less than Napoleon's voluntary attempt to assist me in getting a wife.

"The father of this lady was purveyor at Longwood, and in the habit of going there daily. A few days after my interview he met Napoleon, who immediately said to him: 'Why have you refused your daughter to the surgeon of the flag-ship? *C'est un brave homme.*'

"'But I have not refused,' replied Balcombe; 'the doctor has never asked me for my daughter.'"

Stokoe proceeds to record the impression made upon him by the Emperor.

The thousand and one libels upon Napoleon which had been published in England represented him physically and morally as a monster. In addition to every vice, he was said to be afflicted with all possible bodily deformities, to have a repulsive countenance, and to be formidable to approach, while his manners were coarse and brutal. Mrs. Abell* describes the effect of these persistent calumnies upon her own mind and that of her compatriots.

"The earliest idea I had of Napoleon was

* Elizabeth Balcombe.

that of a huge ogre or giant, with one large flaming red eye in the middle of his forehead, and long teeth protruding from his mouth, with which he tore to pieces and devoured naughty little girls, especially those who did not know their lessons. I had rather grown out of this first opinion of Napoleon, but if less childish, my terror of him was still hardly diminished. The name of Bonaparte was still associated in my mind with everything that was bad and horrible. I had heard the most atrocious crimes imputed to him, and if I had learnt to consider him as a human being, I still believed him to be the worst that ever existed. Nor was I singular in these feelings ; they were participated [in] by many and much older and wiser than myself. I might say, perhaps, by a majority of the English nation."*

Stokoe would not have been among the number. He was too sensible and straightforward himself to be imposed upon by the lying, malicious calumnies of the newsmongers. How-

* "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon during the first three years of his Captivity on the island of St. Helena." By Mrs. Abell, late Miss Elizabeth Balcombe. London, 1844.

ever, without being aware of it, such stories had had some effect upon him. But the kind expression upon the Emperor's pale, handsome face, and his polite manners and warm reception surprised, while they charmed, the surgeon of the *Conqueror*. He says: "During the short time I was in the presence of Napoleon, my opinion of his character underwent a complete change. I had formed in my own imagination the man I expected to see, but I found him so totally the reverse that I had not been two minutes in conversation with him before I felt myself as much at my ease as if talking to an equal. I am not ashamed to confess that this sudden change was accompanied with such a friendly feeling towards him, that I could have been at that moment his ambassador to Sir Hudson, to plead for a rescinding of those orders that caused him to convert his miserable retreat into a voluntary prison."

After the audience the doctor indulged in some peculiarly judicious remarks on a point much disputed then and still under discussion to-day. When the Emperor, vanquished at Waterloo, threw himself upon British hospitality, had England no other course open than

to allow him to set foot upon the *Bellerophon*, and then to treat him as a prisoner? Stokoe seems to have arrived at a right conclusion in the following:

"With my mind fully occupied in reflections that this interview gave rise to, I retired with O'Meara to his apartment, deeply lamenting that fatal appeal to our generosity and its unfortunate result, when he voluntarily embarked on board an English man-of-war at Rochefort, to demand an asylum with his 'greatest and most generous enemy,' as he expressed himself in his memorable note to the Prince Regent. I trust there are few Englishmen who look back to that part of our history who do not *now* regret the ignoble conduct of the Prince. He had here a glorious opportunity of responding to his great and fallen enemy as a British Prince ought to have done, and showing him that the confidence which had brought him to England was not misplaced, though it failed in obtaining the desired asylum.

"He might have replied that his engagements with foreign powers prevented the granting his request, but that he would not take advantage of the confidence placed in

him ; that he was at liberty to return to the armies faithful to him, and make the best terms for himself. If he had attempted to cross the Atlantic, and any English cruiser had intercepted him, he might then have considered that he had the right to treat him as a prisoner of war, which was not the case under the present circumstances.

"There seems to have been a fatality attending Napoleon and England upon this occasion. Had he only delayed his embarkation on board the *Bellerophon* for *two hours* he never would have gone to St. Helena. Mr. Lee, the American Consul at Bordeaux, was then on his way to Rochefort, for the purpose of seeing Napoleon, and telling him that he had one of those fast sailing Baltimore schooners at Bayonne at his service to take him to any part of the world ; he arrived at Rochefort two hours after the embarkation.

"Had he arrived there in time to see Napoleon, had the latter consented to return with him, their departure and intentions might have been concealed from our blockading squadron, and the chances would have been ten to one in favour of his safe arrival in America. England

would then have escaped the odium that is now attached to her name in the history of St. Helena, as well as the immense expense of maintaining him there (at least a million pounds per annum)."

Stokoe, considering that he was bound to give an account of his interview, called at The Briars next morning, with an easy mind. He had had a permit for his visit to O'Meara. While walking with him Napoleon saw him, summoned him to his presence, and chatted with him. It was an accident impossible to foresee or to avoid, and he was by no means to blame. Sir Robert Plampin was of a different opinion. "You could have quite easily," said he to the doctor, "refused to speak to Bonaparte, and you ought to have done so. It is not at all necessary to be polite to the General. There are orders issued and they must be obeyed. You have acted very improperly, as this is a subject on which I and the Governor are now quarrelling. As you have seen him in this way I shall give an order that whenever any officer of the squadron is invited to dine with Mr. O'Meara or the officer on duty at Longwood, they are to hold no communication

with General Bonaparte, even if he should ask for it, without my previous sanction."

The Admiral's lady was present during this conversation. She asked Stokoe what he thought of Napoleon. With his usual frankness the Doctor replied that his opinion had completely changed since his interview with him. She observed that he must be an extraordinary man, for almost every stranger that approached him came away with the same favourable impression. This was certainly very true, and nothing can prove it more strongly than the anecdote related of Lord Keith, when he met Napoleon at Plymouth, where he and two Commissioners from London were employed in the arrangements for his departure to St. Helena. Napoleon then demanded an interview with the Prince Regent, and the two Commissioners were disposed to allow it. His Lordship, however, replied in his blunt sailor language, "No, indeed, we must not allow them to come in contact; in ten minutes they would be as thick as inkle weavers."

Immediately after reprimanding Stokoe, Sir Robert Plampin wrote to the captain of the *Conqueror* as follows: "I have the honour to

inform you that, in spite of well-known prohibition, the surgeon of the flagship has been presented to General Bonaparte without my permission. You will therefore have the goodness to remind all officers under your command that, when I grant them permission to visit Mr. O'Meara or any other member of General Bonaparte's suite, I do not grant them permission to be presented to the said General. A special warrant is required for that purpose."

Anywhere but at St. Helena the matter would have ended with this letter. But the *régime* in vogue on the island did not admit of so simple a solution of the affair. By means of his spies everything reached the ears of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the most trifling incident was always magnified in his eyes into an important circumstance, needing his personal intervention. He had made a rule that the slightest word or action on the part of Napoleon was to be reported to him. As Stokoe had not gone of his own accord to Plantation House, he summoned him thither.

"He expressed surprise at not having seen me before. I replied that on returning from Longwood I had waited upon the Admiral, and

given him the information of my introduction to General Bonaparte, with a detail of everything that had passed between us. This I felt to be my duty, and, having done that, I expected that nothing further would be required of me. If, however, he thought it of importance to have the details of the conversation he was very welcome, as I had no reason for concealing any part of it.

"'In what language was the conversation held?'

"'In Italian,' was my answer. The immediate change which took place in his countenance gave me the idea that he had been seized with some painful complaint, until the frown directed to myself showed that my knowledge of Italian was the cause of his suffering. This must have been increased before I got to the end of my recital, as I stated to Napoleon that I had served for a great portion of three years in Sicily, which would suggest to him the fact that it was at the time he commanded at Capri, and that consequently I must be acquainted with the character he had established for himself in that quarter by his dastardly surrender of that impregnable island to a force inferior in number to the garrison he commanded.

"This interview fully confirmed in my mind the justice of the opinion entertained of him at Palermo, and I quitted him with mingled feelings of contempt and disgust, as well as sorrow that such a man had been chosen for so important a command. Every transaction connected with his illustrious charge would be judged by the conduct of one man, and he unworthy the name of an Englishman."

It was a serious matter to draw upon one's self the notice of Sir Hudson Lowe. This was what had just happened to Stokoe, and he felt that he would have great cause to regret it if, by any piece of imprudence, he ever gave the Governor a hold over him. He made up his mind not to do so, and thenceforward was on his guard. No incident which could prove hazardous occurred until July 1817. At this time Napoleon's health caused a certain amount of uneasiness. Doubtless the Emperor was experiencing the first symptoms of the malady which was destined three years later to end his life. He had a pain in his side. He suffered from inflammation of the bronchial tubes and fever, while his legs, lips and gums began to swell. O'Meara

uncertain as to his diagnosis, determined to take council with a brother physician.

Sir Hudson Lowe ordered him to call in Dr. Baxter, the hospital inspector. But Napoleon absolutely refused to have anything to do with a medical man recommended by the Governor, and refused to see him. On the other hand, he was quite disposed to receive Stokoe, of whom he had formed a good opinion on his presentation to him.

Informed of this by a note from O'Meara, forwarded to him by the Admiral, the surgeon of the *Conqueror* begged Sir Robert Plampin to allow him to refuse.

"He replied that I was at liberty to act as I thought proper, that he had not authority to command my compliance with Mr. O'Meara's request, but that I must recollect that my services had been demanded, and, if any blame was attached to my refusal, the responsibility would be on my own shoulders. He had done his duty in preparing my passport.

"I then said, 'I will make use of your passport to explain to Mr. O'Meara my reasons for declining to see General Bonaparte.

"On my arrival I told the doctor that I had

come there in obedience to his note, but not with the intention of seeing Napoleon. I told him that he must be well aware of the delicate position in which his request had placed me. I was known to be his friend. His quarrel with the Governor and the latter's disbelief in his report of his patient's declining health, were also known . . . this state of things prevented me from visiting the General with him alone, for, if I did so, and coincided in his opinion, the Governor would immediately say: 'Oh, Mr. Stokoe is a friend of O'Meara's, and is biased by his opinion.' To avoid such an inference I had decided not to accede to his request.

"O'Meara, finding that he could not shake my determination, went in to Napoleon and acquainted him with it. Bertrand then came to me evidently in anger, for, when I attempted to explain, he interrupted me by saying: 'No, no, sir, it is only an additional proof of the tyranny to which we are exposed.' However, he ended by seeming to acquiesce in the propriety of my refusal."

About a week later Stokoe was requested to present himself in the office of Sir Thomas Reade, the Deputy Adjutant-General.

"Sir Hudson Lowe came in immediately from the next room, and taking some papers from his pocket he said, 'Mr. Stokoe, I cannot convince these people at Longwood that I did not influence you in your refusal to see General Bonaparte the other day, and I wish you to state to me particularly your reasons for having done so.'

"This was no easy thing to do, for I could not repeat to him all I had stated to O'Meara, but I replied with truth that I was very unwilling to go to Longwood, but if compelled to do so and to visit General Bonaparte, I should naturally, in a case of such importance, wish to have the opinion of more medical men.

"'Well then, I wish you would write a letter to the Admiral, stating these facts. Let me see it before you send it.'

"I immediately went over to the Admiral's office, wrote the short letter and took it to Sir Hudson, whom I found alone. He read it, but did not seem to approve of it, for he took the pen and began to write himself, saying that he had seen Mr. Stokoe, surgeon to the flagship, and questioned him on his motive for refusing to see General Bonaparte. That he had stated that he had great objections to go to

Longwood, but, if obliged to do so, he would wish to visit the General with other medical men, excluding his private attendant.

"I was looking over his shoulder as he wrote, and as soon as I saw him write the last line I suspected a sinister motive. I therefore immediately observed that I must object to that part of his statement, as it would convey the idea that I was unwilling to consult with Mr. O'Meara, which was not the fact. He drew his pen through the words, and added 'in addition to his private attendant,' but he did not finish his letter. I had disappointed him. He had only written a word or two more when he rose from his chair, and pushing the sheet of paper with both hands across the table and throwing the pen down violently he left the room in a towering rage, exclaiming, 'You can send your letter, sir.'"

At this time Sir Hudson Lowe was plotting to obtain O'Meara's recall.

"Had I allowed him to finish his paper my signature would have been demanded, and he would have considered this document a valuable one, as it would have enabled him to write to Lord Bathurst, 'Here is the best proof that

O'Meara is the character I have represented him to be, for the surgeon of the flagship refuses to consult with him.'

"My foresight, however, made it a proof for myself what Sir Hudson's character really was!"

Stokoe's courageous act was of no service to O'Meara. About two months later Napoleon's physician was removed from St. Helena, a victim to tyrannical hatred, the cause of which is easily traced.

It must be attributed to the folly of the Governor, who forced O'Meara to repeat to him the epithets showered upon him in his exasperation by the Emperor. He called him in turn Sicilian gaoler, imbecile, honorary scribbler to the staff, or his head tormenter. The Governor pretended to laugh at these terms as he daily inquired what was the latest novelty, but the utterer of them was too highly placed for them to fail to inflict severe, if secret, wounds. The natural result followed. He soon detested the surgeon whom he forced to be tale-bearer almost as much as the man who used the opprobrious words.

While Sir Pulteney Malcolm was stationed at St. Helena the Governor concealed his annoyance. O'Meara was a naval surgeon, he depended

upon the commandant of the squadron and could claim his protection. Unless absolutely sure of the Admiral's concurrence, Sir Hudson Lowe dared not attack a man who would probably have influential friends at home, even in the Cabinet itself. A clerk in the Admiralty, named Finlaison, did indeed carry on a private correspondence with O'Meara, which was scrutinised by the English Ministers, and by means of which they could judge of the accuracy of the official reports emanating from Plantation House. This fact became known to the Governor, whom it humiliated, while it gave him a second ground for his grudge against O'Meara.

But he had a third reason. Stürmer, the Austrian Commissioner, mentions it in one of his letters: "The Governor has a spite against O'Meara for filling up a post which he tried to give to Dr. Baxter, a man who is under his thumb."

Nothing shows the depths to which Sir Robert Plampin descended in order to ensure freedom for his senile amours in a Puritan circle more than the date chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe for the commencement of his campaign against O'Meara. The *Conqueror* cast anchor in James-

town harbour on June 29, 1817. Three weeks had hardly elapsed when hostilities began. On the 18th of July he picked a quarrel with O'Meara. He questioned him as to his last conversation with the Emperor, flew into a great rage with him for what was said at Longwood, and accused him violently of having espoused the cause of the French. On the 21st there was again a scene of unexampled violence. O'Meara could not but feel that a change had come over the aspect of affairs at St. Helena; he wrote in his notebook:

"Finding that Sir Hudson Lowe made me in a manner responsible for all Napoleon's actions and expressions, and took every opportunity of venting upon me the ill-humour he could not personally discharge upon his prisoner, and perceiving that all hopes of accommodation between the parties had vanished when Admiral Malcolm departed, and that all my efforts to ameliorate the situation of my captive were fruitless, I determined to confine myself as much as possible to my medical duties, and to avoid all unnecessary communication with a man who could avail himself of his irresponsible situation to insult an inferior officer."

In a letter of somewhat later date we find Sir Hudson Lowe saying, with evident intent to deceive :

"He conducted himself for a long time in such a manner as though not to excite confidence, to steer clear of any particular remark or censure; his errors, however, became more prominent a short time before the departure of the late Admiral, who, by employing him in carrying newspapers to Napoleon Bonaparte, gave me the first direct cause of dissatisfaction with him, as he knew my objection to anything being delivered unknown to me; from that moment his conduct underwent a change."*

Was it really O'Meara who was behaving in a different way? Was it not rather the Governor, who, held in check by Sir Pulteney Malcolm, felt, since the arrival of the new naval commander, that he could carry out his plans without let or hindrance?

After a third scene, O'Meara, driven beyond bounds, refused to repeat any further conversations he might have with the Emperor. Sir Hudson Lowe made this a reason for demanding his re-

* Letter of Sir Hudson Lowe to Lord Bathurst, November 18, 1817. Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

call. He was in too great haste ; Lord Bathurst sent him word : "That the reason was not sufficiently serious to justify in the eyes of the public the recall of the only doctor whose visits were tolerated by Napoleon."

This reply reached St. Helena towards the end of April 1818. The Governor had hoped to receive one more favourable to his wishes. On the 10th he had subjected O'Meara to the rules imposed upon the members of Napoleon's suite, forbidding him to leave Longwood under any pretext without first obtaining his permission. The surgeon tried to carry his protest to Sir Robert Plampin, but the Admiral refused to see him. However, the order was of necessity withdrawn : it was too audacious an attack upon the rights and dignity of an English officer, thus to put him on a level with the prisoners.

O'Meara's persecutions continued, yet Sir Hudson Lowe would hardly have succeeded in his aim but for help from an unexpected quarter. General Gourgaud just then returned to Europe. He left the island on pretty bad terms with his companions in exile, and found plenty to relate about them in London, especially about Napoleon himself, whom he depicted as enjoying

robust health, saying that his doctor in representing him as an invalid "was influenced, not to say deceived, by him."

Emboldened by this evidence, which he could quote if need be, Lord Bathurst hesitated no longer. On July 25, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe's heart was rejoiced by an order to send O'Meara home. The doctor was immediately arrested. In the hope of finding him in possession of papers which would compromise him, the Governor had his desk forced and his trunks searched. During this survey, which had not the anticipated result, money and jewels disappeared, besides art treasures of considerable value, presents from the Emperor.

O'Meara's protest to the Admiral only produced a mock investigation. The plaintiff was not allowed to see a copy of the official report, and the stolen property was not traced. O'Meara has given an account in his "Exposition" of this robbery and miscarriage of justice. The amazing story is evidently perfectly true. Forsyth, so diligent in refuting all charges against Sir Hudson Lowe, has not a word to say in this matter.

"Many officers," says Stokoe, "felt more

than was prudent for them to express on the occasion, for the system of espionage that Sir Hudson had established was so complete that it invaded even our sacred wooden walls.*

"One day I had expressed myself in rather strong terms at the mess-table on his shameful persecution of my brother officer for refusing to do the degrading duty of a spy. At my next visit to the Admiral he repeated my very words.

"Suspicion fell upon two individuals dependent upon the Admiral for promotion, but the difficulty of bringing their guilt home to them saved them from the severe punishment that awaits characters of that stamp on board ship, viz., being sent to Coventry.

"The terror which this system produced may be judged by the following fact. The manner in which O'Meara was hurried off the island obliged him to request a comrade to dispose of his property and to settle with his creditors.

* Some time before his departure, Sir Pulteney Malcolm discovered that there was in the island a perfect system of espionage. The smallest details were reported to the Governor. "A Diary of St. Helena (1816–1817), the Journal of Lady Malcolm," edited by Sir Arthur Wilson. London, 1899.

There being a deficiency of between £30 and £40, his friends proposed to draw upon him for the amount. The merchant, however, refused to take the bill, remarking: 'In any country but this I should be most happy to cash a bill on Mr. O'Meara, but, if the news of my having done so reaches the Governor's ears, he would certainly send me off the island.'

"This he repeated to me the following day, when I requested him to advance the money on my account.

"It was this persevering friendship for a man in disgrace with the Governor which made me so obnoxious to him and his satellites, and will account for my endeavour to shun all contact with them."

The excitement aroused by this great event had hardly subsided when, in September 1818, "a store-ship arrived from England, bringing a box addressed to a Mr. Forbes. There being no person of that name on the island, the Governor ordered it to be opened.

"It was found to contain books and pamphlets, French and English, and a letter which was also opened. It began, 'My dear O'Meara,' so it was evident that this plan was his arrangement,

and that he would have claimed the box if he had remained on the island. Sir Hudson now thought to make further discoveries by watching the doctor's friends. As I was at the head of that list, he ordered my letters to be sent to the Admiral, and I was summoned to attend him.

"On my arrival at The Briars, he said: 'Mr. Stokoe, I must tell you that a traitorous correspondence has been discovered between Mr. O'Meara and the people at Longwood, in which, I am sorry to say, you are implicated. The Governor has therefore ordered your letters to be sent to me and opened and read in my presence.' I immediately said: 'Sir, if there is any suspicion attached to me, I beg that you will open my letters yourself, and read them.' This he did, but, as they were from private friends and had no connection with O'Meara or Longwood, I heard no more of the matter.*

"In consequence of this affair I ordered the postmaster to send to the Admiral all letters

* In going over the final proofs with my father, he reminded me of Dr. Stokoe's refusal to sit at table with the Admiral's mistress, during the voyage to St. Helena. This appears to account for much that follows.

and parcels addressed to me, whether from England or the Cape of Good Hope.

"Very soon another parcel of books and pamphlets arrived, addressed to me and from the same sender as the box, Mr. O'Meara's agent, a gentleman to whom I was a total stranger.

"Puzzled to account for this unwarrantable proceeding, I followed the box to the Admiral's house. When it was opened two letters fell out addressed to me, one from Mr. Holmes, the agent, containing a note for Count Bertrand, which he begged I would deliver to him, as, though it contained nothing of importance, he did not wish the Governor to see it.

"In this note the Emperor was entreated to take exercise, in order to preserve his health, and not to give up hope that affairs would take a favourable turn for him. It also spoke of the interest which his purveyor, Mr. Balcombe, who had recently returned to England, took in his case, besides touching on money matters, books, and on visits which Holmes intended to pay in Paris to Las Cases and Laffitte, the banker.

"When the Admiral opened the second letter he found that it also contained an enclosure; holding it up he exclaimed: 'For Napoleon

Bonaparte,' regarding me at the same time with a significant side-glance. Disappointed, perhaps, in his experiment, he corrected himself with: 'Oh, no, for Barry O'Meara, Esq.'

"Mr. Balcombe was the writer. His style was laconic and expressive. Here is a specimen: 'Dear Stokoe,—Be so good as to hand the enclosed to our friend O'Meara. I find that he has many partisans here, and I hope the B—g—rs will soon be turned out.'

"The enclosure was on the same lines. The first words made the Admiral exclaim in a rage: 'Why the —— does the fellow make such a mystery about nothing? I hope he does not mean me!' he continued, but was undeceived —the letter did mean him."

In a report to Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe remarks that Sir Robert Plampin did not think proper to show him this letter, and that his reason was doubtless consideration for Mr. Balcombe, whose house he was occupying. The reason was a less laudable one. The landlord of The Briars expressed opinions far from flattering about his tenant and his mistress. The Admiral preferred to keep such remarks to himself.

By a piece of ill luck Stokoe was entangled in

the meshes of this affair. Holmes, the agent, was complaining one day in London that nothing he sent to O'Meara was sure to reach him, not even books and pamphlets; everything was seized at Plantation House. Balcombe, who heard the complaint, mentioned the surgeon of the *Conqueror*, saying that he was on very friendly terms with Napoleon's attendant. Acting upon the hint, without authority or previous intimation, Holmes at once decided to address his parcels in future to Dr. Stokoe. He had carried out his intention, when he found that O'Meara was already back in England. Conscious of having acted unadvisedly, and foreseeing the consequences, he hastened to write to Lord Bathurst and Sir Robert Plampin, explaining that he had made use of the name of an officer who was absolutely unknown to him. No doubt it was a source of regret to Sir Hudson Lowe that Stokoe could no longer be under suspicion of being an accomplice in the matter. Yet, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, we shall find him, in the course of the court-martial, accused of having participated in the clandestine correspondence.*

* Compare letter from Holmes to Goulburn, at end of volume.

CHAPTER III

ILLNESS OF THE EMPEROR

Napoleon seriously ill, and demands Stokoe's help (January 1819)—The doctor's five days at Longwood —Manœuvres on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe and Admiral Plampin to compromise him and cause his visits to cease—He asks for leave and returns to England.

By the end of 1818 Sir Hudson Lowe had carried out the programme which he drew up as soon as Sir Pulteney Malcolm gave place to an Admiral, hampered by the presence of his mistress.

The audacious beings guilty of sympathising with Napoleon (such as Balcombe) were punished by banishment. He demanded and obtained the recall of Baron Stürmer, the foreign commissioner most ready to criticise his doings. At the same time he robbed the Emperor of O'Meara, and put a stop to a certain amount of

social intercourse kept up between the exiles and the inhabitants of St. Helena. By dint of severe orders the French at Longwood were kept entirely aloof from the officers of the garrison, and neither the permanent residents nor visitors to the island were allowed to see them. Every one avoided people whose simplest greeting might involve them in trouble.

Even the English employed about Napoleon were in daily fear of being compromised. The Governor having issued a menacing order, they were so much disturbed by it that it was found necessary to dismiss them.

Sir Hudson Lowe's delight at the success of his plans for isolating the Emperor was of but short duration. Napoleon persisted in his intention of secluding himself, and hardly ever left his rooms. The moment permission to visit him was refused, it became impossible to know at Plantation House what he was doing—no one could tell what was happening to him. So much so, that the anxious Governor was moved sometimes to wonder whether his invisible prisoner was really there at all. With naïve impudence he actually complained to Count Montholon of a state of affairs created

by himself. "Whilst O'Meara was at Longwood there was always an opportunity of ascertaining Napoleon's presence there through him, and for a long time also through the persons who visited him. Besides, until a short time ago, there were my servants in the house and people employed in the garden; but since he had dismissed the servants, and the workmen had been removed because he complained of their intrusiveness, there were no means left for ascertaining that he was actually at Longwood."*

For these reasons, and in order that he might once more be kept fully informed of everything, Sir Hudson Lowe wished to put Dr. Verling, one of his own puppets, into the place. He established him in O'Meara's rooms as soon as they were vacant. With honeyed words he exhausted the vocabulary in praising the talents of this doctor, "who would be most useful to the Emperor." Finding that he gained no ground, he changed his tactics, grew furiously angry, and spoke of forcing Napoleon to show himself morning and night to Captain Nicholls, the orderly stationed at Longwood.

During the discussions called forth by this

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

threat, the Emperor suddenly fell ill. As may be inferred, he would have nothing to do with Dr. Verling. It was for Stokoe that he called. The authorities dared not prevent the surgeon of the *Conqueror* from answering this appeal. He was even ordered to do so. But his position became at once so difficult, he was exposed to so much annoyance, and had to combat such determined hostility, that hardly a week had elapsed when he was compelled to discontinue his attendance upon Napoleon. It will be seen how his superiors, by putting crafty and false interpretations upon all his actions, piled up a charge of treason against him, and made him liable to a court-martial.

The doctor's memoirs give a very indistinct and imperfect account of the plots to which he was a victim, but the record of his condemnation tells the story, so to speak, by giving in full all the documents produced at his trial. This paper, signed by John Barrow, secretary to the Admiralty, is above suspicion. It will be necessary to refer to it at almost every step in this chapter and the one which follows, for, before an impartial jury, nothing can speak more forcibly to justify Stokoe's conduct than

the very evidence which was used at St. Helena to secure his condemnation.

At daybreak on *Sunday*,* January 17, 1819, this urgent note from Count Bertrand was placed in the doctor's hands :

"LONGWOOD, 1 A.M.

"SIR,

"The Emperor has just had a sudden and violent attack. You are the only medical man at present in this country in whom he has shown any confidence. I beg you not to lose a moment in hastening to Longwood. On your arrival ask for me. I hope that you will arrive in the course of the night. I am much troubled."

Enclosed was a note from the admiral's secretary to the captain of the *Conqueror* to this effect: "The Admiral has desired me to say that you are to order Mr. Stokoe (Surgeon of the *Conqueror*) to go directly to Longwood and call on Dr. Verling, as Buonaparte † is very ill."

Since O'Meara's departure Stokoe had been

* For greater clearness in the following account, the days on which Stokoe visited Longwood are printed in italics.

† All through the Minutes of the court-martial Bonaparte is spelt thus. [E. S. S.]

in constant dread of the event which had now taken place. Feeling that the Governor's attention had been drawn to him in a hostile manner, and that he was on the alert to do him an injury, he felt hovering over him a sure if as yet undefined danger—the probability of being called upon to attend Napoleon. A short time before, news had reached St. Helena which had tended to calm his fears: it was announced to the Emperor that Dr. Antommarchi, a French physician, was about to be sent him by his uncle, Cardinal Fesch. Stokoe was beginning to feel at ease when Count Bertrand's request reached him. "I had now," he remarks, "no alternative. No discretionary power was allowed me as on the former occasion, therefore I obeyed the order with all possible speed, but in the greatest distress of mind."

The Emperor was seized with the attack which had so alarmed his suite towards midnight. He first felt a sharp pain in the groin and shoulders, accompanied by violent fever, and followed by oppression and giddiness. For some few minutes he was unconscious. It was then that Count Bertrand wrote his letter, but notwithstanding the urgency of the case it was

made subject to all the red tapeism practised at St. Helena. Captain Nicholls took charge of it and despatched it by a dragoon to Plantation House, where the Governor was aroused. Thence it was carried to The Briars, where the Admiral, in the arms of his mistress, was sleeping the sleep of the just.

The courier continued his nocturnal peregrination to Jamestown, through the tortuous roads of the island. At break of day he reached the officer on duty in the harbour, who, in his turn, took a boat, crossed the roadstead, and scaled the sides of the *Conqueror*. Stokoe for his part had to dress and mount the five miles of winding road leading from the town to Longwood.

All this took time. Seven o'clock was striking when the doctor reached Count Bertrand's apartments, and the immediate danger had passed. Relieved by a hot bath, Napoleon was sleeping, and Stokoe was requested to wait until he could see him.

"I breakfasted with the Bertrands, and after breakfast Count Montholon came to me and proposed that I should replace O'Meara, and become the Emperor's surgeon. This I declined. He

then asked my reasons. I replied that it was an appointment I might have been ambitious to obtain had I not witnessed the persecution of O'Meara, which, according to him, was in consequence of his refusing to do the degrading duty of a spy. The Count left me, and no doubt went to Napoleon and reported the conversation, for he came back in about an hour with a paper, containing eight articles, dictated, I presume, by Napoleon, and presented them to me for my acceptance."

ARTICLES

To replace Mr. O'Meara and give Mr. Stokoe the character of surgeon to the Emperor Napoleon*

It contained the following proposals:

(1) Mr. Stokoe is considered as surgeon to Napoleon, and as filling the place of the French surgeon mentioned in the decree of the British Government, dated the 15th of August, 1815.

(2) He is not to be taken away without the consent of Napoleon, at least by a simple order

* Notwithstanding the refusal of the British Government to allow the use of the title of Emperor in connection with their captive, the obnoxious word appears in the certified translation of the "Articles" supplied by the Admiralty to Dr. Stokoe. [E. S. S.]

of the Governor, and especially as long as the disease continues.

(3) During the time that he fulfils the functions of Physician to Napoleon, he is not to be subjected to any military discipline or duty, but to be considered as an Englishman holding a civil employment.

(4) He is not to be obliged to render an account to any person of Napoleon's health. He will write every day, or oftener if necessary, a bulletin of Napoleon's health, of which he is to make two copies, one to be given to one of the officers at Longwood, and the other to the Governor whenever he desires it.

(5) No person whatever is to intermeddle in his medical functions, and no restrictions upon his communications with Napoleon and the French, either by writing or verbally, by day or by night, are to be imposed upon him.

(6) He is not to be obliged to render an account of what he sees or hears at Longwood, unless anything which in his judgment might compromise his oath of allegiance to his country and his sovereign.

(7) Doctor Stokoe engages to serve Napoleon in his profession, independent of all prejudice,

or party spirit, and as if he were his own countryman, and not to make any bulletin or report of his complaints without giving him the original.

(8) In accepting these conditions, Mr. Stokoe is to preserve the integrity of all his rights as an English citizen and officer. He demands to receive from the Admiralty the same pay as his predecessor, and not to be assimilated in anything with the French prisoners. The whole of the above to be done with the permission of his chief, Rear-Admiral Plampin.*

Nothing surely could be more straightforward or more reasonable than the demands contained in the draft of this agreement.

The Emperor would not have Dr. Verling thrust upon him ; he intended to choose his own physician. Lord Bathurst had recognised his right to do so. In a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe† the Minister gave orders that O'Meara should be replaced by any surgeon on the island

* These articles, and the bulletins which follow, do not appear in print for the first time. They were communicated to O'Meara by Stokoe, and published by the former in his "Exposition."

† May 16, 1818. See Forsyth's "History of the Captivity."

approved of by Napoleon. The Emperor singled out Dr. Stokoe.

He quite naturally wished to have his constant and exclusive attention, without fear of sudden recall at the caprice of the Governor.

It was fitting that no espionage should be exacted from a medical man in his daily intercourse with the Emperor. Stokoe knew his duty. He was well qualified to decide what should be reported to his superiors and what withheld. A man hitherto in good odour, and certainly incapable of treachery to his country, no reason existed for throwing suspicion on him, or subjecting him to the same surveillance as the prisoners.

For one clause in particular there was abundant ground. The Emperor complained of the climate of St. Helena, and there was a lurking dread at Plantation House that the deterioration of his health might eventually justify these complaints in the eyes of the public. Thus, at one time, Napoleon being unwell, Sir Hudson Lowe first distorted O'Meara's medical reports, and later fabricated false ones. For a month, by this means, he succeeded in concealing the Emperor's real condition from the foreign com-

missioners and their respective Governments. It was as a safeguard against a repetition of such fraud that Napoleon demanded in future a duplicate of all bulletins issued relative to himself.

"As I saw nothing," says Stokoe, "in the articles incompatible with the honour of a British officer and a gentleman, I then stated to Count Montholon that, if the Admiral and Governor consented to these conditions, I would accept the appointment."

The doctor was then taken into the Emperor's room. Napoleon lay on a sofa; his skin was sallow and his features drawn. The pain in his side had not abated, and the slightest pressure on that spot made him cry out. After careful examination Stokoe found, as he believed, most of the symptoms denoting chronic affection of the liver.

"How long might a man live with such a complaint?" asked the Emperor, at the same time requesting the doctor to answer him without evasion.

"There are instances of men living to an advanced period."

"Yes, but is one as likely to live to that period in a tropical climate?"

"No."

"What is the danger to be apprehended?"

"Inflammation, and possibly suppuration."

"What would be the consequence of that?"

"If matter formed, and it broke into the intestines, he might be saved; if it pointed externally, he might be saved by an operation; but if it burst into the cavity of the abdomen, death must ensue."

The Emperor clenched his hand, and exclaimed, "I should have lived to the age of eighty if they had not brought me to this vile place."

Stokoe retired after this burst of passion, touched by all the words implied of disappointed vitality and energy, of power stifled in its prime. On leaving the Emperor he expressed the result of his visit and his diagnosis in the following bulletin: "I found the patient in a very weak state, complaining of considerable pain in the right side, in the region of the liver, and with shooting pain in the right shoulder. About midnight he had been suddenly seized with violent pains in the head, succeeded by vertigo and syncope, which continued nearly a quarter of an hour. After recovering from this state, he had recourse to a warm bath, which

produced violent perspiration and relieved him immediately.

"From the evident tendency of a determination of blood to the head, it will be highly necessary that a medical man should be near his person, in order that immediate assistance may be afforded in case of a recurrence of the above alarming symptoms, as well as for the daily treatment of chronic hepatitis, which the above symptoms indicate."*

Stokoe quitted Longwood at two o'clock. Before proceeding to Jamestown he called on Sir Robert Plampin at The Briars, and submitted to him the document containing the terms to which he had agreed subject to his sanction and that of the Governor. The Admiral saw nothing to object to in the "Articles." He deferred his decision, however, until he had taken counsel with Sir Hudson Lowe. At the same time he appeared to approve of the arrangement.

A letter from Plantation House soon changed his attitude to a hostile one. Count Bertrand had handed a copy of the Articles to Captain Nicholls to forward to the Governor, saying that "Napoleon Buonaparte was willing to take

* Bulletin produced at the court-martial.

Dr. Stokoe as his physician, on the terms prescribed in the paper herewith forwarded, and that Dr. Stokoe had consented to attend on Napoleon Buonaparte provided that the Governor and Admiral acceded to the proposition."* Sir Hudson Lowe at once wrote to Admiral Plampin :

"SIR,

"I do myself the honour to enclose to your Excellency a letter and a paper I have this moment received from the orderly officer at Longwood.

"In transmitting them for your Excellency's consideration, I think it right at the same time to mention I have as yet no information whether Mr. Stokoe has seen General Buonaparte, what may have been the nature and extent of his communications with Count Bertrand, or what may have been the arguments used by either to prevail on Mr. Stokoe to give his assent to proposals of such a nature as those enclosed, which were in no wise to be anticipated from the suddenness and occasion of his call to attend on General

* Documents produced at the court-martial. Letter from Captain Nicholls to Major Gorrequer.

Buonaparte at so very early an hour this morning, without, it appears, any previous reference to, or consultation with, either your Excellency or me."

The meaning of this rigmarole appears to be that Sir Hudson Lowe pretended a belief in some mysterious plot, hatched at Longwood. He blames Stokoe for not calling upon him after his visit to Longwood, and for having acceded with suspicious haste to the terms dictated by the Emperor. For the first point: the doctor, as we have seen, reported himself to Sir Robert Plampin, his rightful superior. We shall shortly find the Governor asserting that the naval officers were only amenable to the Admiral. As to the second point: we know the reservations made by Stokoe. Captain Nicholls communicated them to Sir Hudson Lowe, but it suited the plans of the latter to consider a conditional agreement as a fixed and settled affair.

During the evening the Emperor's state kept his suite in continual anxiety. They felt the urgent necessity of taking such steps as would assure their having definitely the help which had become indispensable. Count Montholon, there-

fore, proceeded with Captain Nicholls to Plantation House. Rain was falling in torrents, and the darkness so intense that they were obliged to be escorted by two men carrying lanterns. The interview which took place is described by Major Gorrequer, Sir Hudson Lowe's secretary, in the following words :

"At about ten o'clock at night Count Montholon waited on the Governor, in company with Captain Nicholls, the orderly officer at Longwood. The Governor having gone into the library to receive them, soon afterwards called me in, and said that the Count had come to know his decision on the subject of the proposals sent that morning through the orderly officer, respecting Mr. Stokoe.

"Count Montholon then repeated before me that his mission to the Governor was to request his decision on the above-mentioned subject, or until that was the case, that Mr. Stokoe should in the meantime be allowed to afford his medical services at Longwood. The Count added that he had foreseen the Governor's not coming immediately to a resolution, but earnestly entreated him to cause Mr. Stokoe to give his attendance until his determination was made.

"*He declared in a very serious manner* that he expected the Emperor would have a return of the attack that night which he had experienced the previous one, and that he dreaded *un coup d'apoplexie*, that the blood rushed up into his head *comme d'un coup de piston*, and it was necessary to have some one at hand to bleed him, should a recurrence of this last take place. As Mr. Stokoe was the only medical man in whom the Emperor had ever manifested any *confiance*, he (Count Montholon) trusted that the Governor would make no objection to his remaining at Longwood while the question of his permanent establishment there was under consideration.

"The Governor expressed himself not averse to Mr. Stokoe giving his medical aid until his decision on the proposals transmitted to him regarding that person should be communicated. He explained at the same time to Count Montholon that Mr. Stokoe was under the Admiral's authority, and that he could not dispose of his services.

"Count Montholon said that the Governor represented the Prince Regent there, and would give his orders to all those under him.

"The Governor replied that Count Montholon was under an error in this point, that the naval Commander-in-Chief, the head of another service, was entirely independent of him, and he could give no orders whatever to persons under his authority. He would, however, confer with the Admiral on the matter, 'mais qu'il était décidé à ne pas se laisser pousser à donner réponse,' until he had consulted with him, which he, however, would do as soon as he could. He added that Mr. Stokoe would be there next morning, or else his decision would be known by that time. The Governor then told Count Montholon that Mr. Stokoe had not even called upon him since his visit to Longwood, to give him any information respecting General Buonaparte's health, notwithstanding his having been several hours with him and Count Bertrand. The Count stated that Mr. Stokoe had only been from eleven to twelve in the forenoon until two in the afternoon with the 'Emperor.'"

The interview had no result. Napoleon was left without the certainty of medical attendance.

Some words, evidently bearing an ironical meaning, and which have probably struck the

reader, are underlined in Major Gorrequer's minute. "He declared *in a very earnest manner* that he expected . . . a return of the attack that night." Plantation House absolutely refused to believe in the Emperor's illness, and repeated examples of this blind or affected incredulity will be met with. Indeed, it will be found to end only as Napoleon's death-rattle sounds. Comedy treads close on the heels of tragedy—*i.e.*, in Sir Hudson Lowe's declaration that Admiral Plampin, whose amours and position he holds in his hands, who trembled before him and dared have no will but his, was "entirely independent of him."

The Emperor being again seized with violent pain before M. de Montholon's return, Count Bertrand felt obliged to send an urgent message to the Governor, demanding Stokoe's presence. But Sir Hudson Lowe had already made up his mind to take no further notice of the appeals of "those people at Longwood." Although in possession at midnight of a letter intended for the surgeon of the *Conqueror*, he kept it for twelve hours, and only forwarded it on *Monday* at midday. By then it was useless. The doctor had not put off till so late his visit to his

illustrious patient—he had been with him since six o'clock.

The Emperor's state appeared to confirm his diagnosis of the day before, and he expressed it in a second bulletin:

"It appears from the symptoms of chronic hepatitis (the first appearance of which he experienced sixteen months ago) that this is the principal cause of the present derangement in his health, and although they are described as having increased considerably of late, yet, judging from present appearances, I do not apprehend any immediate danger, although it must be presumed that in a climate where the above disease is so prevalent it will eventually shorten his life.

"The more alarming symptom is that which was experienced on the night of the 16th, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if medical assistance is not at hand."*

Stokoe signed his own warrant by such decided assertions.

He was already, in Sir Hudson Lowe's eyes, guilty of having been preferred to Dr. Verling,

* Bulletin of January 18, produced at the court-martial.

and had now committed the still more unpardonable crime of believing that Napoleon's illness was serious. He was bold enough to declare, in spite of all that the Governor and the English Ministry could say, that St. Helena was an unhealthy resort for the Emperor, and that his residence there would shorten his life Such clumsy frankness was unbearable : means must be found to close the mouth of a doctor possessing so little tact.

As on the previous occasion, Stokoe called on the Admiral on returning from his visit to Longwood. He found a change in his manner.

"On being shown into the office where the Admiral was seated at his desk, I observed the secretary sitting in the middle of the room totally unemployed ; the novelty of his presence at this time and under these circumstances struck me forcibly, and I realised that he was there as a witness. It was natural that I should feel hurt at this treatment from an officer whom I had hitherto looked up to as my patron and friend.

"The Admiral then commenced a strict inquiry into all the circumstances that took place during my visit to Longwood and the conversations

held with the inmates. He next inquired about Napoleon's health and took his pen to make a note of my report, which I gave as nearly as I could recollect in the words of the document left at Longwood."

At the close of the interview Stokoe was requested not to go again to Longwood without "a pass." This formality was equivalent to casting suspicion upon him. It was, in fact, treating him as if he had begged for permission to attend the Emperor and obtained the privilege as a signal favour. On the contrary, the doctor was under orders. He was placed, and, as the following lines show, kept, at the disposal of the suffering prisoner.

During the evening of this very Monday Major Gorrequer wrote to Captain Nicholls: "I am desired by the Governor to acquaint you that, having conferred with Rear-Admiral Plampin in respect to the continuance of Mr. Stokoe's medical attendance at Longwood, the Admiral has acquainted him that he cannot dispense with Mr. Stokoe's services in the squadron so far as to admit of his being entirely removed from it. . . . .

"The Governor himself will have no objection

to Mr. Stokoe affording his medical assistance to Napoleon Buonaparte, whenever so required, but he is desirous in each case that Mr. Stokoe's professional visits should be made in conjunction with the physician who is at present in attendance at Longwood." *

Sir Hudson Lowe would not forbid Stokoe to continue his attendance! Far from it. He preferred to force the doctor to cease his visits of his own accord, by rendering his position untenable. To effect this object we shall see him having recourse to his usual weapons, his crooked ways and underhand tricks.

Summoned by Count Bertrand for the third time during the afternoon of *Tuesday*, Stokoe called upon Sir Robert Plampin for the prescribed passport. The Admiral had just returned from an interview with the Governor, and was primed with fresh instructions. He resumed his catechism of the day before, but in a stricter and more searching fashion.

"When you signified your acquiescence to the proposals you gave me a copy of, did Count Bertrand or General Buonaparte demand any pledge from you that you would not repeat

* Letter produced at the court-martial.

anything that passed in conversation, and did you give any such pledge?"

"I was not asked to pledge myself to anything of the kind."

"Were you required to write out a bulletin?"

"Yes, by Count Bertrand, which I did, and the one you have is a copy of it."

"Was the latter part of the bulletin put down at the suggestion of either General Buonaparte or Count Bertrand?"

This question referred to Stokoe's remark, after his visit on Sunday, as to the necessity of there being a physician constantly in attendance on Napoleon in order that immediate assistance might be afforded in the event of a second attack, as well as for the daily treatment of "chronic hepatitis."

The doctor indignantly replied, "No, it was an idea of my own."

"Without questioning whether General Buonaparte has or has not chronic hepatitis, on what ground do you state that he has had it for sixteen months past?"

"From General Buonaparte's own account."

"Did you yourself observe any symptoms of chronic hepatitis, or otherwise?"

"From his tongue and appearance I should think it likely he has chronic hepatitis, but I cannot positively say he has."

"Was there any swelling complained of on the right side?"

"No."

"Did you ask to examine it?"

"Yes, but it was not swelled. I put my hand and pressed the side, when he said, 'That pains me.'"

"What was your opinion of his side; was there any evident enlargement of the liver?"

"I did not observe there were any symptoms of a swelling of the liver, or of his ankles and feet, which I felt."

"On what authority do you know that General Buonaparte was seized on the night of the 16th with vertigo and syncope? Was it Buonaparte himself or Count Bertrand?"

"It was from what General Buonaparte and those about him told me, a servant, Count Bertrand, and Count Montholon. The servant called the two latter when he was seized."

"Was the determination of blood to the head evident from any symptom you observed?"

"There were no symptoms of it when I saw him."

"If the latter part of the two bulletins was not suggested, why did you insert it, knowing as you did a physician resided at Longwood to give assistance?"

"Because I knew General Buonaparte would not see Dr. Verling."

"Was the name of the patient omitted in the bulletin you left at Longwood at the suggestion of Count Bertrand, or your own act alone, and why did you omit the name of General Buonaparte?"

"I asked Count Bertrand what I should say with respect to the name, when he answered, '*Napoleon*' or '*the patient*,' which was the reason of my not putting down '*General Buonaparte*.' I understood this was the proper way of beginning a bulletin."

"I should have called him General Buonaparte and not the patient. Earl Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe calls him General Buonaparte. Lord Melville * to me always calls him General Buonaparte, therefore on all occasions I call him so, and I think the surgeon of the

* Minister of the Navy.

Conqueror in making a report to his Commander-in-Chief ought so to have styled him." *

Other questions followed, equally ridiculous and equally malicious. The reader will not fail to notice the confident manner in which Sir Robert Plampin, certainly no physician, disputed the fact of the Emperor's illness: it comes out clearly in the form and persistence of his questions, and contrasts badly with the doctor's modest reservations. Where he expresses himself as doubtful, he would have been justified in speaking positively. His very frankness served to arm his enemies.

Having obtained his pass, Stokoe started for Longwood, which he reached about six o'clock in the evening. The Admiral, in a strange fit of forgetfulness, had omitted to mention the Governor's letter, ordering the visits to be made in the presence of Dr. Verling. Captain Nicholls produced it, and Stokoe at once requested this officer to accompany him to Count Bertrand,

* Documents produced at the court-martial: Minute of a conversation at The Briars on Tuesday, January 19, 1819, from 4 to 5 o'clock P.M., in the presence of Mr. John Elliott, secretary, between Rear-Admiral Plampin and Mr. John Stokoe, Surgeon of H.M.S. *Conqueror*.

entreating the latter to do his utmost to persuade Napoleon to accede to Sir Hudson Lowe's request. The Count declared it useless even to broach the subject—the Emperor would not listen to it. Rather than receive this surgeon he would dispense with medical attendance altogether. Yet his condition was most serious, he was too weak to stand, and had not left his bed for twenty-four hours.

Captain Nicholls retired and Stokoe was greatly disposed to follow his example. He had no illusions as to his chiefs' hostile intentions, and the aim they had in view. Both Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Robert Plampin were only awaiting some ostensible fault, some pretext, in order to punish him for contravening their unexpressed wishes. However, not only did his professional conscience refuse to allow him to neglect his patient at such a critical moment—he also knew that there was equal danger in seeing as in refusing to see Napoleon. Should fatal complications arise soon after his departure from Longwood, the Governor would hold him responsible: "I only expressed a wish that Dr. Verling should accompany you," he would say. "A wish is no command. You should have paid your visit all the same."

The doctor, therefore, proceeded to Napoleon's room and found that Bertrand's account was by no means exaggerated. The Emperor was much worse. His pulse marked an extraordinarily rapid increase of fever. The character of the hepatitis appeared to be changing, probably from a chronic to an acute form. Fearing, from the violent tendency of blood to the head, a return of Sunday's attack, Stokoe decided to spend the night at Plantation House, and acquainted Captain Nicholls with this fact.

To stave off the impending crisis he begged Napoleon to suffer himself to be bled, but the Emperor was a bad patient. Stokoe represented to him in vain that apoplexy menaced him and might seize him at any moment. The careless gesture of a fatalist was his only reply. At last—towards five in the morning—the headache having become unbearable, he yielded, and the lancet relieved him slightly.

The doctor, who was only half satisfied, would gladly have spent the whole of *Wednesday* at Longwood, but towards midday he received a summons to Jamestown. which he at once obeyed. Calling at The Briars he handed to

the Admiral a report of which the following were the concluding words :

"I took this opportunity of more particularly examining the liver, and am fully persuaded of the diseased state of that viscus, having distinctly felt a degree of hardness. . . . I therefore advised the immediate adoption of a course of mercury, with other medicines in such form as best suited the constitution of the patient."

The Admiral made no remark on the absence of Dr. Verling. Doubtless he left that to the Governor. But he asked:

"Did you tell Count Bertrand that I said Lord Bathurst and Lord Melville called Buonaparte General Buonaparte, and that I took them for my model, and I should have thought that quite sufficient guide for the surgeon of the *Conqueror ?*"

"I daresay I did. It's most likely that I did."

Upon which the Admiral said: "You are a very dangerous character, if everything that is said by your Commander-in-Chief is to be carried to them at Longwood." *

* Documents produced at the court-martial : A conversation which took place at the Admiral's house in Jamestown on January 20, 1819 (from 1 to 2 o'clock P.M.), in the

This unexpected rebuke showed the lack of straightforwardness peculiar to these officials at St. Helena. When confronting their great prisoner they never had the courage either of their acts or of their words. In order to deprive Napoleon of the attendance of his favourite doctor, Sir Hudson Lowe entrenched himself behind Sir Robert Plampin, who would doubtless have been better pleased had he not been put so prominently forward. In any case he objected to letting any of his discourteous speeches find their way to Longwood; the Emperor was still capable of inspiring a certain amount of fear.

Stokoe, weary of the bad treatment he received at The Briars, wrote the following lines to the Admiral on regaining his ship:

"The experience of to-day points to the necessity of my declining all further communication with Longwood.

"I therefore humbly beg leave that, in case my services are again demanded in aid of General Buonaparte, you will be pleased to cause Count

presence of Mr. John Elliott, secretary, between Rear-Admiral Plampin and Mr. John Stokoe, Surgeon of the *Conqueror*.

Bertrand to be acquainted with my wishes on this head."

Hardly were these words written when Napoleon again demanded the surgeon of the *Conqueror*. Stokoe went himself to the Admiral with his letter, which he had not had time to send. The latter was at dinner and refused to read or hear anything. In a tone which brooked no reply he commanded the doctor to obey the summons and to spend the night at Longwood, *but to return the next day without fail, and by half-past ten at the latest.*

As no duty on board demanded Stokoe's presence on the *Thursday*, the very preciseness of these instructions pointed to a secret desire that he might be, by some chance, detained; also to the Admiral's preconceived intention to consider any such involuntary delay as an act of disobedience. The desired result was obtained. First a consultation, extended at the Emperor's wish, and then a fall from his horse on the uneven road leading to The Briars, rendered it impossible for the doctor to report himself to Sir Robert Plampin at the prescribed hour. At midday he handed him the following report:

"I saw General Buonaparte yesterday, and his

fever was slight, but he complained more of pain in the side. This morning the pain in the side continued nearly the same.

"I recommended a warm bath, which he took immediately, and in which he remained at my departure.

"I urged the necessity of his immediately commencing a course of medicines, saying that I had already prepared some, and would send others from town, with instructions, as I could not continue my visits to Longwood under the unpleasant circumstances I was exposed to, and that I had already requested you to make known my wishes on that head to Count Bertrand. He replied that he would take no medicine that he did not receive from the hands of his own surgeon.

"I beg that you will take into consideration that in this business, my reputation and honour being equally implicated, I cannot take upon myself the charge of a patient of such consequence and so seriously ill, in the disagreeable situation in which I am placed, not at liberty to give my assistance at every moment. Hereafter, in the event of any sudden catastrophe which may occur, I beg that my name may not be

mentioned unless I am placed in the situation of Mr. O'Meara, in accordance with the Articles offered for your consideration the other day. If not, I desire to remain as surgeon of the *Conqueror*, and to be relieved from that responsibility which now weighs upon my name, and of which I foresee the alarming consequences."*

Stokoe expressed in distinct terms his resolve to bring to a close an undefined position—to cease to play an ambiguous part. Did they wish him to continue as the Emperor's medical attendant, or did they not? In lieu of a reply, Sir Robert Plampin once more flew into a passion.

"What kept you so long after the hour I ordered you to call here?"

"General Buonaparte desired me to stay."

"So you disobeyed my order because General Buonaparte desired you to remain at Longwood!"

"He desired me to stay to see the effect of the warm bath."

"Was General Buonaparte so ill that you found your presence absolutely necessary?"

"No, I cannot say that he was so ill, but he desired me to stay."

* Report produced at the court-martial.

"Then because General Buonaparte desired you to stay there, you disobey my order. I ordered you to be here at half-past ten this morning: you appear to consider General Buonaparte's desire paramount to any order of mine."

"Would you have had me leave him?"

"Certainly, as you do not think that your presence was absolutely necessary. You ought to have obeyed my order; neither necessity nor humanity required your staying."*

The man guilty of this brutal speech wrote to Stokoe the same evening, in reply to a letter which he had declined to peruse the day before.

"In answer to the letter you left with me yesterday evening, I have only to observe that it's of no consequence for me to know what experience you yesterday gained, nor do I consider it requisite for you to ask my leave to decline your services in aid of General Buonaparte, which I have never yet commanded. And, never having had any correspondence with Count Bertrand, I cannot condescend to com-

* Documents produced at the court-martial: A conversation on January 20, 1819, in the presence of Mr. John Elliott, secretary, between Rear-Admiral Plampin and Mr. John Stokoe, surgeon of H.M.S. *Conqueror*.

mence one with him for the mere purpose of conveying your wishes on that head. . . ."

Stokoe had then been dreaming! He had received no order from Sir Robert Plampin commanding his presence at Longwood! Confounded at such duplicity, he appealed to Captain Stanfell, of the *Conqueror*.

"Would you be good enough to grant me a second reading of the order sent to you by the Commander-in-Chief on the morning of the 17th inst. and delivered to me by you? It would seem, to judge from a letter I have this moment received from the Admiral, that in attending General Bonaparte I have misconceived my duty."

Captain Stanfell vouchsafed no reply to this, and the doctor did not again visit Longwood.

Hudson Lowe had gained his end: Napoleon was deprived of his medical attendant. Thanks to a remnant of vitality the Emperor slowly recovered, and dragged on his existence for another two years. But Stokoe was made to pay dearly and without delay for his scrupulous attention to professional etiquette, and his reluctance to fall in with the policy of the Governor.

His visits were made January 17 to 21 inclu-

sive. On the 22nd Sir Hudson Lowe laid aside his underground tactics, unmasked himself, and formulated in definite terms his accusations against him.

Two days before, the French residents had formally protested against the grudging succour afforded to the Emperor. A letter referring to Sunday, January 17, contained these lines: "When Dr. Stokoe arrived, he went to Count Bertrand's,* who made the proposition to him of taking the situation Mr. O'Meara had held, and presented to him the seven Articles which have been sent to the Governor; he accepted them, and was then introduced to the patient."

Taking advantage of the fact that Stokoe's conditional acceptance of the post was not absolutely mentioned in this sentence, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Admiral Plampin:

"An unsigned paper under a sealed envelope to my address was yesterday forwarded to me from Longwood, which I returned forthwith,

* There is here a trifling error in the name. It is, however, unimportant, as Stokoe's own account clearly shows that it was Count Montholon and not Count Bertrand who proposed to him to fill the position formerly held by O'Meara.

making known, if it were sent back signed, it would be replied to.

"I was, however, so forcibly struck with a passage in it, which concerned Mr. Stokoe, that I caused an authenticated copy of the same to be taken before it was returned, sending it for your Excellency's consideration.

"It appears by what is therein stated that Mr. Stokoe was not suffered to see General Buonaparte, whose malady had been declared so dangerous as to occasion his being called from on board the flagship in the middle of the night to attend him, until he had signified his acceptance of seven articles proposed to him by Count Bertrand for his becoming the domestic surgeon of General Buonaparte in succession to Mr. O'Meara. This without reference to your Excellency's authority . . . whilst no reference whatever was made to my consent.

"Mr. Stokoe not merely, it appears, signified his acquiescence to these proposals, but further, without any reference to your Excellency's authority or mine, proceeded to act upon them. . . . He then, in conformity to one of its proposed articles, drew up a bulletin of General Buonaparte's health and left it with

Count Bertrand without any consultation with, or reference to, Dr. Verling, the physician established at Longwood, whom he had been ordered to call upon.

"This precipitancy on the part of Mr. Stokoe, not only to accept, but to act upon, the proposals presented to him (so very remarkable as contrasted with the scruples which actuated his conduct on a former occasion), was without any just pretext. He had been nearly four hours at Longwood before he was admitted to see General Buonaparte, which afforded ample time for his making an intermediate communication either to your Excellency or myself. . . ."

Sir Hudson Lowe then reminded the Admiral of a Standing Order issued July 1817, forbidding the officers of the squadron "to hold communication of any sort, by writing or otherwise, upon any subject with any of the foreign personages detained upon the island." According to the Governor, Stokoe had infringed this order; the bulletins he handed to Count Bertrand being "communications by writing."

"Viewing the consequences that have already sprung," concludes Sir Hudson Lowe, "from Mr. Stokoe's line of proceedings, reflecting at

the same time that it has been to his address or under cover to him that various letters and papers have arrived on this island destined for persons at Longwood. . . . that those and other letters and papers received prove not only that a clandestine communication has been carrying [*sic*] on for some time with Europe . . . but show also that, as the expected successor to Mr. O'Meara, it was the design to continue the same through Mr. Stokoe . . . I deem it therefore essential to the due execution of the service with which I am charged on this island, to pray your Excellency's consideration of the conduct of Mr. Stokoe, in order that such steps may be taken in the matter as in your Excellency's judgment may appear expedient."*

This letter was in reality a formal accusation, the effects of which were soon felt by the doctor.

"A few days after my last report Captain Stanfell came on board and acquainted me that it was the Admiral's intention to try me by a court-martial.

"I begged to know the charges.

"'For contempt and disobedience of orders.'

"'Then I have to thank the Admiral for

* Letter produced at the court-martial.

whatever may be imputed to me. His positive orders left me no discretionary power. If I had been allowed to act for myself I would have avoided the danger with which I am threatened.'

"To this Captain Stanfell rejoined that, in his position in the event of a court-martial, it would be improper for him to enter into any discussion on the subject. I therefore retired, and he in a few minutes returned on shore.

"Although conscious of the rectitude of my own intentions, yet I had unavoidably put it in the power of the Admiral to say that I had disobeyed his orders. I felt also from his previous conduct to me that he had participated largely in the well-known vindictive feelings of Sir Hudson Lowe towards those who had not blindly conformed to his Excellency's wishes with regard to his prisoner. I therefore waited on Captain Stanfell at the Admiral's house in Jamestown and then informed him that, as I was without hope of protection from the man to whom I had looked for support, it was, naturally, my wish to avoid a court-martial, which, under any other circumstances, I should have regarded with perfect complacency. I added that my health had suffered considerably from the climate,

and I had not been able to attend to my duty for several days owing to a fall from my horse. In conclusion, I begged the Captain to inform the Admiral that I should be glad to invalid and quit the station.

"He promised to do so as soon as he had an opportunity, but said that the Governor and Admiral were then in consultation below, preparing, he believed, the charges against me. He did not see how the Admiral could avoid trying me after the letter he had received from the Governor.

"In about two hours his Excellency left the Admiral, when Captain Stanfell took the opportunity of making my wishes known to him. On my inquiring whether he had done so, he replied that the Admiral would give no answer until he had seen the Governor. Sir Hudson Lowe returned after an absence of about a quarter of an hour and remained with the Admiral until near sunset.

"On my again applying to the Captain he could give me no information, but said that as he was going to dine at The Briars that day he would take an opportunity of again mentioning the subject.

"Two days later he told me that I had better write a letter to him on service, stating my ill health, and requesting a survey. I wrote a letter to this effect and presented it to him about three o'clock. At four the First Lieutenant showed me the order for a survey with the signature of the Admiral, who was then in the country. It must have been previously arranged that the secretary should fill up a blank copy already signed. It was impossible to have communicated with the Admiral in that short space of time.

"On this circumstance and the evident anxiety to comply with my request I shall make no comment. It requires none.

"The following day the survey took place. My assistant was ordered to give me receipts for the medicines and stores under my charge, and next day I was ordered on board H.M.S. *Trincomalee*, to proceed to England.

"I thought all my sufferings at an end."

CHAPTER IV

THE COURT-MARTIAL

Stokoe, who had just landed, ordered to return to St. Helena — His indictment — Irregular court-martial—Iniquitous condemnation.

Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Robert Plampin readily gave up the idea of holding a court-martial upon Stokoe, conscious that they had no tangible accusation against him. Their real object was to deprive Napoleon of his favourite physician, and that object was attained the moment the doctor had left the island, regardless of the manner of his departure. However, the Admiral, at the Governor's dictation, drew up a long report, addressed to the Admiralty, and forwarded it to England by the vessel on which the surgeon of the *Conqueror* was sailing.

Stokoe landed at Portsmouth on April 14, 1819. He had to submit to a second medical survey in London, in order that his grant of

sick leave might be confirmed. He therefore proceeded at once to town with an easy mind: he was known to the principal physician attached to the Admiralty and had received repeated marks of esteem and friendship from him. He writes:

"Whilst waiting below with a large number of officers to be surveyed, many of whom were above me in rank, we heard the messenger come down several times and inquire whether Dr. Baird had not come in yet. At last they sent for Dr. Weir, the medical member of the Transport Board.

"When he arrived and had been about a couple of minutes upstairs, my name was the first called.

"I followed the messenger, and was ushered into the presence of Sir George Cockburn, Sir Henry Hotham and Dr. Weir.

"I soon found that the doctor had received his instructions, for he made light of every complaint I made and wrote out his report, which he presented to Sir George Cockburn, who said: 'This will do.' Then turning to me: 'Mr. Stokoe, you may retire. I think it likely we shall send you back again.'

"My first impulse at this moment was to appeal to private medical opinion against that of Dr. Weir, but on going downstairs I encountered Sir Pulteney Malcolm. I had met him accidentally at my agent's the day before, and on being introduced to him had made him acquainted with all that had occurred at St. Helena. When we met again on the stairs, and I told him that I suspected I was to be sent back again to St. Helena, he said, 'Don't go away, Stokoe; I shall be down again in a few minutes, and I wish to have some conversation with you.'

"He rejoined me in a few minutes. On my representing to him how extremely unpleasant it would be for me to serve again under Admiral Plampin, he replied: 'Stokoe, you are a surgeon. You are more independent than any of us so long as you do your duty, but I think you ought to view your being sent back again as a proof that your conduct has been approved of.'

"Believing him to be privy to the sentiments of their Lordships, I no longer hesitated. The same day I received the order to proceed forthwith to Portsmouth, to take my passage on

board the storeship *Abundance*, about to rejoin the *Conqueror*.

"Wanting only a few months to complete a service of twenty years as surgeon, when I could retire on ten shillings a day, I had given up all idea of going to sea again, and had parted with my cot, bedding, and light clothing. I expected to pass these few months in harbour or on shore. The rest of my clothes and instruments were on their way to London. I was therefore under the necessity of writing to Mr. Croker, begging him to move their Lordships for the indulgence of a few days to collect them.

"I took the letter myself to the Admiralty, and in half an hour a messenger brought me the following reply: 'The *Abundance* is quite ready for sea. Her orders will go down to-night. Their Lordships direct you to join her to-morrow.'

"Thus was I hurried out of town without any intimation from their Lordships of the premeditated sacrifice, also without my instruments. I had no opportunity of taking leave of my friends, or of fitting myself out again for a warm climate.

"I arrived late on the following evening at

Portsmouth, and went immediately to the house of the Admiral's secretary. I made no apology for my late intrusion, as I told him that it was important that my arrival there should be announced to the Admiralty in their letter of the following day.

"Mr. Glover was an old friend and mess-mate. When I told him the way in which I had been hurried out of town and ordered back to St. Helena, he congratulated me as all my friends had done, under the impression that my conduct had been approved of. But he observed that the *Abundance* was not ready for sea and could not possibly sail for a week. This was the eighth of April. She did not sail until the nineteenth.

"After a tedious and disagreeable passage of 124 days, we arrived at St. Helena early on the morning of August 21. In a few hours a boat was sent for me from the *Conqueror*, and on reaching the ship I presented to the commanding officer their Lordships' letter ordering me to rejoin. The same day an order came from the Admiral, directing my name to be re-entered on the ship's books as surgeon, and Mr. Hately (my successor) to be discharged. This was

followed by another, forbidding me to land until further orders, and directing Mr. Hately to attend the hospital at Lemon Valley.

"The following day, at about one o'clock, the officer of the watch, Lieutenant Lloyd, received a letter from Captain Stanfell directing him to put the memorandum No. 22 into my hands on the quarter deck. It contained the first intimation I had of their Lordships' kind intentions towards me in sending me back again to St. Helena (a distance by the Cape of more than eight thousand miles), for the sole purpose of trying me by court-martial!

"I read the contents of the document in the distressed looks of my esteemed messmate, while he performed his painful duty of telling me to consider myself under arrest.

"To describe my feelings at this moment would be impossible. When I looked back at the treacherous silence of the Admiralty I saw at once that my sentence was already passed, and I was doomed to be their victim. They had, by this cruel silence, deprived me of the favourable testimony I might have obtained from every officer I had previously sailed under. Yet I felt that the act was more

degrading to themselves than was the punishment to me."

The charges against the doctor were :

1st. For having on or about the 17th January last, when permitted or ordered by Rear-Admiral Plampin, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Cape of Good Hope and the seas adjacent, etc., to visit Longwood for the purpose of affording medical assistance to General Buonaparte, then represented as being dangerously ill, communicated with the said General or his attendants upon subjects not at all connected with medical advice, contrary to standing orders in force for the governance of His Majesty's naval officers at St. Helena.

2nd. For having on or about the same day, on receiving communication both in writing and verbally from some of the French prisoners at Longwood, taken notice of and given an answer to such communications previous to making the same known to the Commander-in-Chief, contrary to the said standing orders.

3rd. For having in pursuance of such unauthorised communication signed a paper purporting to be a bulletin of General Buonaparte's health, and

delivering the same to the said General or his attendants, contrary to the said orders, and to his duty as a British naval officer.

4th. For having in such bulletin stated facts relative to the health of General Buonaparte which did not fall under his, the said Mr. John Stokoe's, own observation, and which as he afterwards confessed were dictated or suggested to him by the said General or his attendants, and for having signed the same as if he himself had witnessed the said facts, which was not the truth and was inconsistent with his character and duty as a British naval officer.

5th. For having in the said bulletin inserted the following paragraph: "The more alarming symptom is that which was experienced in the night of the 16th instant, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if medical attendance is not at hand," intending thereby contrary to the character and duty of a British officer to create a false impression or belief that General Buonaparte was in imminent or considerable danger, and that no medical assistance was at hand, he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, not having witnessed any such symptom, and knowing that the state of the patient was so little urgent that he was four hours at

Longwood before he was admitted to see him, and further knowing that Dr. Verling was at hand, ready to attend if required in any such emergency.

6th. For having, contrary to his duty, communicated to General Buonaparte or his attendants information relative to certain books, letters and papers said to have been sent from Europe for the said persons, and which had been intercepted by the Governor of St. Helena, and for having conveyed to the said General or his attendants some information respecting their money concerns, contrary to his duty, which was to afford medical advice only.

7th. For having, contrary to his duty and to the character of a British naval officer, communicated to the said General Buonaparte or his attendants an infamous and calumnious imputation cast upon Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena, by Barry O'Meara, late surgeon in the Royal Navy, implying that Sir Hudson Lowe had practised with the said O'Meara to induce him to put an end to the existence of the said General Buonaparte.

8th. For having disobeyed the positive command of his superior officer in not returning from Longwood on or about the 21st of January aforesaid at the hour especially prescribed to him by the

Rear-Admiral, there being no justifiable cause for his disobeying such command.

9th. For having knowingly and willingly designated General Buonaparte in the said bulletin in a manner different from that in which he is designated in the Act of Parliament for the better custody of his person, and contrary to the practice of His Majesty's Government, of the Lieutenant-General, Governor of the Island, and of the said Rear-Admiral, and for having done so at the especial instance and request of the said General Buonaparte or his attendants, though he, Mr. John Stokoe, well knew that the mode of designation was a point in dispute between the said General Buonaparte and Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe and the British Government, and that by acceding to the wish of the said General Buonaparte he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, was acting in opposition to the wish and practice of his own superior officers, and to the respect which he owed them, under the general printed instructions.

10th. For having in the whole of his conduct in the aforesaid transactions evinced a disposition to thwart the intentions and regulations of the said Rear-Admiral, and to further the views of the said French prisoners in furnishing them with false or

colourable pretences for complaint, contrary to the respect which he owed to his superior officers, and to his own duty as an officer in His Majesty's Royal Navy.

It may possibly not be easy to grasp the exact meaning of these accusations or to see how behaviour so straightforward and upright as Stokoe's had been could give rise to them. To elucidate them it will be well to take up each point separately and to put into plain language words which, of set purpose, have been twisted into the most obscure phraseology possible.

Stokoe had, "on or about the 17th January last, when permitted or ordered by Rear-Admiral Plampin, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Cape of Good Hope and the seas adjacent, etc., to visit Longwood for the purpose of affording medical assistance to General Buonaparte, then represented as being dangerously ill, communicated with the said General or his attendants upon subjects not at all connected with medical advice, contrary to standing orders in force for the governance of His Majesty's naval officers at St. Helena."

Between Napoleon and the doctor nothing

but medical affairs had been discussed. With the suite the illness which caused them such grave anxiety had been the topic of conversation. But conversation always wanders a little, no matter how serious the subject. It must be owned that mention was also made of the weather, and the trifling events happening at St. Helena, that regrets at the enforced absence from Europe were uttered, and the compliments and civilities current between casual acquaintances exchanged.

It was for these trivialities that Stokoe was blamed. They were supposed to be "not connected with medical advice," and they were styled an offence against the prohibition issued by Admiral Plampin immediately on his arrival on the island, forbidding any one "to hold communication of any sort, by writing or otherwise, upon any subject, with any of the foreign personages detained at Longwood."

This order, to make it more imposing, was put into the plural and entitled "Standing Orders in force at St. Helena, addressed to the respective officers of His Majesty's ships and vessels."

Stokoe had "on or about the same day on

receiving communication both in writing and verbally from some of the French prisoners at Longwood taken notice of and given an answer to such communications previous to making the same known to the Commander-in-Chief, contrary to the said standing orders."

For communications in writing we must understand the "*Articles*," and the verbal ones were the discussions on the same subject.

Stokoe had "signed a paper purporting to be a bulletin of General Bonaparte's health, and delivered the same to the said General or his attendants, contrary to the said orders, and to his duty as a British naval officer."

He is again charged with having "communication in writing" with the prisoners at Longwood, this time skilfully disguised in the form of a medical report!

It referred to the bulletin issued Sunday, January 17.

Stokoe had "in such bulletin stated facts relative to the health of General Buonaparte which did not fall under his, the said Mr. John Stokoe's, own observation, and which as he afterwards confessed were dictated or suggested to him by the said General or his attendants, and had

signed the same as if he himself had witnessed the said facts, which was inconsistent with his character and duty as a British naval officer."

There is no trace of any such confession in the cross-examinations to which Dr. Stokoe was subjected after each visit to Longwood. Of course the doctor obtained his information from the French exiles as to the giddiness and syncope which occurred during the night of January 16 and 17. But he replied to Sir Robert Plampin's insinuations by formally declaring that his bulletin was not dictated or suggested by any one.

Stokoe had "in the said bulletin inserted the following paragraph: 'The more alarming symptom is that which was experienced in the night of the 16th instant, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if medical attendance is not at hand,' intending thereby, contrary to the character and duty of a British officer, to create a false impression or belief that General Buonaparte was in imminent or considerable danger, and that no medical assistance was at hand, he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, not having witnessed any such symptom, and knowing that the state of the patient was so little

urgent that he was four hours at Longwood before he was admitted to see him, and further knowing that Dr. Verling was at hand, ready to attend if required in any such emergency."

This capital charge is so clear that he who runs may read ; yet, while needing no comment, it allows of a remark.

Forsyth, enumerating in his book the charges brought against Stokoe, forgets three of them, and this is one of that number. How could Sir Hudson Lowe's special pleader venture to bring it forward ? At the time he was writing, *i.e.*, in 1853, the nature of the terrible disease which carried Napoleon off early in 1821 was well known, and the slow progress of the malady was so well known, also, that there was no ground for doubting that, in the year 1819, the Emperor was seriously ill.

Stokoe had, "contrary to his duty, communicated to General Buonaparte or his attendants information relative to certain books, letters and papers said to have been sent from Europe for the said persons, and which had been intercepted by the Governor of St. Helena, and had conveyed to the said General or his attendants some information respecting their money concerns,

contrary to his duty, which was to afford medical advice only."

This has reference to the Holmes affair.

Stokoe had, "contrary to his duty and to the character of a British naval officer, communicated to the said General Buonaparte or his attendants an infamous and calumnious imputation cast upon Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena, by Barry O'Meara, late surgeon in the Royal Navy, implying that Sir Hudson Lowe had practised with the said O'Meara to induce him to put an end to the existence of the said General Buonaparte."

O'Meara was reported to have said, when dismissed from St. Helena: "If I had only consulted the Governor's wishes, Napoleon would not be alive to-day." This remark cropped up one day before Stokoe when at Longwood and he was asked for his interpretation of it. He considered it as a reference to Sir Hudson Lowe's general attitude towards his prisoner, and not, as was the public opinion, as a definite accusation.

He had "disobeyed the positive command of his superior officer in not returning from Longwood on or about the 21st of January aforesaid

at the hour especially prescribed to him by the Rear-Admiral, there being no justifiable cause for his disobeying such command."

The reasons for this disobedience have been clearly set forth.

Forsyth exhausts himself in the endeavour to show that Hudson Lowe was always full of anxiety regarding Napoleon's health, as well as his general well-being. Therefore, naturally, he overlooks this charge. Is not this a proof that everything was dealt out grudgingly to the Emperor, even his doctor's time?

Stokoe had "knowingly and wilfully designated General Buonaparte in the said bulletin in a manner different from that in which he is designated in the Act of Parliament for the better custody of his person, and contrary to the practice of His Majesty's Government, of the Lieutenant-General, Governor of the Island, and of the said Rear-Admiral, and had done so at the especial instance and request of the said General Buonaparte or his attendants, though he, Mr. John Stokoe, well knew that the mode of designation was a point in dispute between the said General Buonaparte and Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe and the British Government,

and that by acceding to the wish of the said General Buonaparte, he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, was acting in opposition to the wish and practice of his own superior officers, and to the respect which he owed them, under the general printed instructions."

"The patient": this was the terrible term, the use of which by Stokoe was considered such a crime! Forsyth evidently thought the charge too trivial; he passed it by without a word.

The doctor "in the whole of his conduct in the aforesaid transactions evinced a disposition to thwart the intentions and regulations of the said Governor and the said Rear-Admiral, and to further the views of the said French prisoners in furnishing them with false or colourable pretences for complaint, contrary to the respect which he owed to his superior officers, and to his own duty as an officer in His Majesty's Royal Navy."

This last capital charge is merely a *résumé* of the preceding ones, and appears only to be added by way of increasing the number.

The trial was fixed for August 26, 1819, but Stokoe secured a postponement of several days

by his persistency in demanding the attendance of Count Bertrand and Count Montholon. Sir Hudson Lowe objected to the summoning of these witnesses. However, after long arguments as to their unsuitability for a threefold reason, *i.e.*, as being foreigners, prisoners, and attendants on Napoleon, it was suddenly decided that they should be called. News had just been received to the effect that Count Bertrand was attacked by dysentery and unable to leave Longwood, and they came to the shrewd conclusion that Montholon, the sole remaining attendant on the invalided Emperor, would also be unable to absent himself.

The time struck the Governor as favourable, and the court-martial met on August 30, on board the *Conqueror*. Its members were as follows :

Captain Francis Stanfell, of H.M.S. *Conqueror*, and second officer in the command of His Majesty's ships and vessels in St. Helena Roads (President); Captain Wauchope (*Eurydice*); Captain Rennie (*Tees*); Commander Sir William S. Wiseman (*Sophie*); Commander James Hanway Plumridge (*Sappho*); Mr. George Nicholls, Purser of H.M.S. *Sophie*

(Officiating Deputy Judge Advocate). The Clerk of the *Conqueror*, William Davies, acted as Registrar.

Sir Robert Plampin was the first witness heard. He gave his evidence passionately, as though himself the injured person: he was anxious to please Sir Hudson Lowe, first of all, and he had a private grudge against Stokoe. A man, as Balmain shows us, utterly destitute of moral character, the Admiral desired to avoid notoriety, and preferred to devote himself quietly to his amours, and rise gently in his profession. The doctor had disturbed his beloved peace, and, but for his pliancy, would have embroiled him with the Governor. He could not forgive him the stir he had made.*

He began by producing the correspondence quoted above, together with the cross-examination and bulletins. He then professed to have given Stokoe no commands on the morning of January 17. It will, however, be remembered that he caused his secretary, while forwarding Count Bertrand's letter demanding help for Napoleon, to write as follows: "The Admiral has desired me to say that you are to order Mr.

* See also page 76. [E. S. S.]

Stokoe (surgeon of the *Conqueror*) to go directly to Longwood, and call on Dr. Verling, as Buonaparte is very ill."* In the first upset caused by so serious a piece of news this note remained in Stokoe's hands. Later, the Admiral demanded its return. However, the doctor, his suspicions aroused, had succeeded in keeping it, and had carried it to England with him. Unfortunately, like his other papers, he left it there, and was consequently unable to produce it. Sir Robert Plampin disputed the wording and declared that it was merely a permission. But his explanations proved so confused and unsatisfactory that the Court decided to alter the wording of the first charge. Instead of *when permitted by the Admiral to go to Longwood*, it was agreed to insert in the minutes: *permitted or ordered*. . . . This version struck Forsyth as peculiar, and likely to cast reflections upon the accuracy of Sir Robert Plampin's memory. This author, in his turn, made another little change; he simply wrote *ordered*.†

Growing more cautious after this infelicitous

* The facsimile of this letter appears on page 219.

† Both words appear in the minutes taken at the time, *as well as* in the certified copy supplied later. [E. S. S.]

beginning, Sir Robert Plampin owned that Stokoe, immediately upon his return from Longwood on the 17th, presented to him the "Articles" dictated by Napoleon, with this remark: "I gave my consent to the proposal, provided that your approbation and that of the Governor could be obtained." But, according to the Admiral, the doctor should have consulted his superiors at the first possible moment, even upon a purely conditional arrangement, instead of remaining inactive for four hours at the door of a patient who was in no hurry to admit him.

Sir Robert Plampin then spoke of the Holmes affair. Did not Stokoe's participation in the clandestine correspondence of the year before show a predisposition on his part to become the tool of the prisoners? He proved it as soon as he was summoned to Longwood.

Eventually, in his eagerness to prove the guilt of a man who had despised his "friendly advice," the Admiral indulged in such violent language that the Court had a fit of modesty and suspended the hearing for a time, enjoining him to be more moderate. Sir Robert Plampin's secretary was next called, and confirmed his depositions. Captain Stanfell declared that the

letter requesting him to send Stokoe to Longwood did not contain the word *order*. George Nicholls, the purser, and Dr. Verling, told what they knew of Stokoe's intercourse with the French prisoners.

As the witnesses for the prosecution had all been heard, and those for the prisoner could only be called at the end of the trial, Stokoe was allowed to speak in his own defence. He had sought in vain among his comrades for an advocate. No one was willing to take upon himself so dangerous a task, sure to compromise him with Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Robert Plampin, who had made themselves the accusers in the trial. The doctor, therefore, pleaded his own cause in the following words :

"MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THIS HONOURABLE COURT,

"After a servitude of nearly twenty-five years in the Royal Navy, marked by the approbation and good opinion of my superiors, at a period when a few months would entitle me to retirement, after twenty years of that time as surgeon, it must be painful to me to be thus called upon to justify my character, when arraigned by such high authority ; but I hope

that a sense of upright intentions will impart to me that fortitude which ever accompanies innocence.

"Notwithstanding the numerous charges which have been preferred against me, I trust I shall be able fully to vindicate myself to this honourable Court, who would, I am sure, feel more pleasure in the acquittal rather than in the condemnation of an officer who was placed in so delicate and trying a situation.

"Before I take notice of the several charges, I beg that the Court will duly weigh the nature of the evidence which has been brought against me, which has been eight days in preparation, and consists principally of replies to questions put to me by the Admiral after each visit to Longwood. These minutes were taken in the presence of a third person (who, it now seems, was placed there for the purpose of being a witness against me). I therefore hope that the Court will receive with caution testimony obtained in a moment of irritated feeling, produced by this extraordinary mode of proceeding.

"The evidence of the persons with whom I had communication at Longwood has been denied me. . . ."

The prisoner was here interrupted by the Court, and reminded that the persons to whom he alluded had been duly summoned, but had refused to attend.

The prisoner then proceeded:

"It is *consequently* out of my power to refute the several charges which have been brought against me, but I most solemnly affirm that during the whole of my attendance there I was actuated by a desire to fulfil my duty to my superiors, as well as by a determination to render justice to my patient. My reluctance to go there will prove that I had no desire to obtain the appointment, and my wish to be accompanied by Dr. Verling (as has already appeared in evidence before the Court) that I had no intention of furnishing them with false or colourable pretences for complaint.

"The Admiral has dwelt much on the irregularity of my conduct in the manner in which I presented the 'Articles' for his approval or rejection.

"The Court will, I trust, acquit me of any *intentional* disrespect on that occasion. The paper was presented in the state in which I received it, and, as it related to myself, I did

not conceive for a moment that the transaction could bear the construction which has been put upon it. The Admiral has produced several letters relative to the clandestine correspondence referred to in the sixth charge, calculated to impress the Court with the idea that I was the willing or active agent in such correspondence. I trust I shall be able to prove that the Admiral had received information which completely exonerated me from such an imputation.

"I will now proceed to reply to the several charges as briefly as possible.

"In reviewing the *first charge*, I appeal to the consideration of the Court how far it was possible to confine my conversation to medical advice in the company of persons who had no need of it.

"The *second charge* is grounded on the 'Articles' under which I gave my *conditional* consent to become General Buonaparte's surgeon. They were the result of my refusal to do so, and my reasons I will now state to the Court. I had heard from his former medical attendant that the cause which led to his dismissal was a refusal to report to the Governor his private conversation

with the French people at Longwood. Conceiving that a demand of that nature was incompatible with my character as a professional man, I deemed it expedient to decline the proposal on that account.

"Shortly afterwards Count Montholon returned with the paper containing the Articles, produced before the Court. As there appeared to be nothing in them derogatory to my character as a British officer and a gentleman, I gave my consent to the proposals, provided the approbation of the Governor and Admiral could be obtained.

"With regard to the *third charge*, I did not consider that any law could compel a medical man to deny his patient an opinion of his complaint, nor did I conceive that the laws of the island, prohibiting correspondence with the people at Longwood, could properly apply to a medical report. In all medical cases the physician must be guided by the report of his patient or those about his person. The symptoms I described as having taken place about midnight must consequently have been known from the report of the patient or his attendants. I positively deny that they were

either dictated or suggested. On the contrary, they were the result of my own inquiry.

"The preceding part of the document, adverted to in the *fifth charge*, does away with the intention imputed to me of creating a false impression or belief that General Buonaparte was in imminent or considerable danger. It was only from a *recurrence* of the symptoms reported to have taken place on the night of the 16th of January that I apprehended immediate danger. In stating that 'unless medical assistance was at hand,' I must be understood to have meant such as the patient would receive. It is true that Dr. Verling was on the spot, but it is well known that General Buonaparte refused to see him.

"The subject of the *sixth charge* was at the time the common topic of conversation in the island, my own character had been particularly involved in it, and when in the course of general conversation I was questioned on the subject, I merely stated what I knew of the matter.

"The subject of the *seventh charge* was also the common topic of conversation, and I may have repeated it in the way the Admiral has stated in his minutes.

"In adverting to the *eighth charge* I have much reason to regret the absence of Counts Bertrand and Montholon, as they could prove my extreme anxiety to return to The Briars at the time prescribed by the Admiral. General Buonaparte having expressed a desire to see me before my departure, and expecting momentarily to be summoned to attend him, induced me to prolong my stay far beyond my wishes. My haste to return when released from attendance was further impeded by a fall from my horse.

"From a motive of delicacy I was induced to ask Count Bertrand what had been the custom in designating the General in former reports. By my using the professional term of 'Patient' (which is equally applicable to all ranks) I conceived I should avoid giving offence.

"Having made these few observations, which it becomes necessary for me to submit to the consideration of the Court, in refutation of a host of charges brought against me, strained and coloured with all the art of legal ingenuity and backed by local power and prejudice, in order to accomplish the object of a prosecution instituted by an overwhelming authority, I beg to solicit a continuance of the indulgence which

I have already received from this honourable Court. I trust that it will view with indulgence any error into which I might have fallen in the discharge (for only a few days) of an entirely new line of duty, where, from unforeseen events and not having received the Commander-in-Chief's assent or refusal of the terms submitted to him, upon which alone I could consent to undertake the office of surgeon to General Buonaparte, I was in great measure left to the exercise of my own judgment, under circumstances of peculiar delicacy and embarrassment. In such a situation how liable is a man, however zealous and anxious to obey the commands of his superiors, to err! I trust that the motives actuating my conduct will appear free from everything like concealment or intention to do wrong.

"There is another and most material point to which I beg to call the attention of the Court, viz., the very great disadvantage of my being obliged to enter upon my trial without its having the power to enforce the attendance of Counts Bertrand and Montholon, they being the only persons who could give evidence, not alone to remove the suspicions, but to refute the charges

which branch out of the few visits I made to Longwood. Added to this I have been hurried out here without the slightest intimation of what was intended upon my arrival. By this I have been deprived of the benefit of documents with regard to the charges brought against me, as well as my character for a period of twenty-five years' service, which documents, I am persuaded, would operate most favourably in my behalf.

"Without meaning the most distant disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, I feel obliged to bring before the Court the zeal which his Excellency manifested on the first day of the trial in furthering the object of the prosecution by repeated comments emphatically made. This mode of proceeding, which, in my ignorance of the law, I should have considered unprecedented, would naturally have alarmed me did not I place full confidence in the justice of this Court (each member of which I view as my advocate as well as my judge). I believe that the solemn engagements into which it has entered will this day prove that they are paramount to all other considerations.

"I therefore submit my character, my honour,

and everything that is dear to me into your hands, and shall rest perfectly satisfied with your decision whatever it may be."

After this defence Sir Robert Plampin was recalled at Stokoe's request.

The doctor disputed the correctness of the cross-examination relative to his visits, which had been produced. The Court, therefore, inquired whether these conversations had been taken down at the time or transcribed from memory later.

It was absolutely impossible to obtain a definite reply from the Admiral on this point. He eluded the question and launched out into interminable digressions. But with regard to the intercepted correspondence he confessed that Holmes had written to him, acknowledging that he had no authority for his use of Stokoe's name.

Under renewed examination both Dr. Verling and Captain Nicholls had to own that it would be extremely difficult for a medical attendant at Longwood to confine his conversation to medical subjects. They themselves discussed all manner of things with the French prisoners whenever they met them.

Captain Stanfell made an equally important declaration: had Stokoe refused, on January 17, to visit General Buonaparte, he would have regarded it as an act of direct disobedience.

All these avowals were extracted with the greatest difficulty by the doctor from his unwilling witnesses. Only two gave their testimony readily and without reserve. These were Lieutenant James Hay, to whom Stokoe had complained of a fall from his horse on the 21st, when hastening from The Briars, and the assistant surgeon, William Clark, who deposed to finding a severe contusion on the shoulder as the result of an accident.

The charges fabricated by Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Robert Plampin all fell to the ground, but the officers forming the court-martial knew that the Governor and the Admiral wished for a condemnation and that they were dependent upon them for advancement. They therefore consulted their own interests rather than their sense of right and wrong. Stokoe was dumbfounded to hear himself dismissed from His Majesty's service.

The trial had lasted four days, from August 30 to September 2.

Count Balmain reported: "The authorities of the island made a great fuss about this affair, in order to frighten any one who might be tempted to imitate Mr. Stokoe. We were positively certain that the prisoner would reveal all the secrets of Longwood, and would be hanged or, at the very least, transported to Botany Bay.

"In spite of his entreaties no one would act as his lawyer. He defended himself with ability and with great presence of mind. In confessing some slight faults of insubordination he showed clearly that he might have been the dupe but certainly was not the accomplice of the foes of Plantation House. Both his judges and the audience were moved with compassion, and he can only be regarded as a man who was weak, imprudent, and unfortunate. Thus the mountain brought forth a mouse."

Stokoe's attitude, however, was by no means such as Count Balmain represented it. The doctor's proud defence was far from being that of a man in tears before his accusers. But the Russian commissioner's error becomes comprehensible as one learns the source of his information; he adds: "It was Admiral Plampin who enlightened me on the indictment. I thought

it well to encourage this new and extraordinary tendency to confide in me."

Count Balmain would have done better to distrust the Admiral. The information was only given him by way of throwing dust in his eyes, and, through him, in those of his Government and of Europe generally.

Seldom indeed has a verdict more iniquitous than that upon Stokoe been pronounced. From beginning to end the trial was illegal and irregular.

In the first place, the doctor, who had returned to England on account of his health, was sent back to St. Helena on the report of a single medical man, Dr. Weir, whereas only a medical commission could invalidate his leave.

In order that he might not be provided with the necessary papers, he was kept in ignorance as to what awaited him on his return, and his embarkation on board the *Abundance* was needlessly hurried. He was to be handed over, defenceless and unprepared, to powerful accusers, on a far-away island. No one dared to plead his cause, so great was the terror inspired by the Governor and the Admiral. Nor could he, obliged to be his own advocate, express more than half the

truth. To show up matters fully, ought he not openly to have proclaimed the secret compact between Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Robert Plampin, and the mean motives which gave rise to the hatred they bore him? Doubtless, but such a proceeding would have been as dangerous as futile in a place like St. Helena, devoid of unbiased public opinion, and before so prejudiced a tribunal.

The Admiralty had despatched the orders for the arraignment to Captain Stanfell; he therefore represented the prosecution. At the same time he presided over the trial, and we also see him step down from his lofty post to assume a fresh *rôle*, that of witness, while the evidence of Counts Bertrand and Montholon was suppressed.

Later, Stokoe will be seen to have a veritable fraud to complain of. The doctor had deposed at the court-martial to Sir Robert Plampin's attempt to recover the written order, by virtue of which he proceeded to Longwood on January 17. The Admiral had denied this fact, but his secretary when asked by the accused in cross-examination: "Did you hear the Admiral desire me to return the Note in which he enclosed Count Bertrand's first note to me?"

answered "I did." Caught in the very act of both lying and perjury, Sir Robert Plampin had evidently had the wording of this altered in the minutes.*

Notwithstanding all these irregular proceedings, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst on September 15, 1819: "One of the members of the Court was Commander Sir William Wiseman. He told me after the court-martial was over he believed there had never been a court-martial assembled where the deliberation had been more full and impartial, or where the members had taken more pains to inform themselves on every point and to form their judgment without any motives of prejudice. He expressed his astonishment at the infamous falsehoods, as he termed them, which had been circulated in England respecting the system observed here." †

* In the official copy of the minutes of the court-martial, which was supplied to Dr. Stokoe after he had waited twelve months for it, the secretary's answer to this important question appears as, "I did, or a copy of it." In the foregoing I have quoted direct from the court-martial papers. [E. S. S.]

† Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

CHAPTER V

THE END OF THE DRAMA

Napoleon's death (May 5, 1821)—Sir Hudson Lowe's downfall—A detail showing Admiral Plampin's character—Conclusion of Stokoe's biography.

ACCORDING to Dr. Stokoe's accusers and judges, Napoleon was not ill at all. Indeed, he was in such good health that his death followed twenty months later!

The Emperor's third physician was Dr. Antommarchi. On his arrival at St. Helena, on September 20, 1819, he found Napoleon undermined by fever, and still suffering from the same disorders. Towards the middle of October there was a change for the better, which lasted until August 1820, when the illness suddenly became much more serious.

Count Montholon wrote at this period: "For several days the Emperor has been very ill and has done no work. He has hardly left

his sofa at all. He still complains of pain, 'like a knife.' Antommarchi smiles when I ask the meaning of this internal pain, which is like a cut with a penknife about two inches below the left breast."*

Cardinal Fesch had made a bad choice. Stokoe's successor, whom he had sent, was young, flighty, and presumptuous. He was an optimist, and did not realise the responsibility of his position. He often caused the Emperor to regret the loss of the surgeon of the *Conqueror*.

On September 2, 1820, Count Bertrand resolved to inform Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, that Napoleon, who had been suffering for two years from chronic hepatitis, could no longer brave the climate of St. Helena. Nothing but change of air and access to mineral waters could possibly save his life. This letter was returned by the Governor "on account of the use of the Imperial title."

In November and December grave symptoms showed themselves. He was seized with spasms and sickness, and his extremities grew cold as death. Sometimes, heavy with sleep, he

* "Récits de la Captivité."

remained in bed for several days in succession. Sir Hudson Lowe thought this a fitting time to renew the attempt, so unsuccessful when Dr. Verling was the object of it. He proposed to Counts Bertrand and Montholon that Antommarchi should consult with Dr. Arnott, surgeon to the 20th Regiment. Napoleon refused his offer, replying: "Since his appeal to Lord Liverpool had not been forwarded, he did not believe in the interest the Governor showed with regard to his health."

The early days of the year 1821 were very sad ones. There is no doubt that the Emperor felt that this year would be his last, and that he would not see the end of it. He was quiet and gentle, but indifferent. "Each day," says Count Montholon, "he seemed less inclined to exertion of body or mind. He was always tired. He lounged idly in an easy chair, whereas, but a short time before, he spent the greater part of the night as well as the day in arranging the materials for his work. I often stood for some hours, waiting for him to finish a sentence, or to rouse himself from this stupor to say something more than, 'Eh bien! mon fils, que dites-vous de nouveau? What shall we do?'"

In February the stomach troubles became rapidly worse, while the circulation grew more sluggish. The Emperor's extremities were continually icy cold: napkins and flannels which burned the hands of his attendants hardly availed to warm him. He could take nothing but meat jelly. His memory failed and he often wandered.

At the end of March he began to vomit clots of blood and took to his bed, not to leave it again. Just at this time Lord Bathurst requested Sir Hudson Lowe to use redoubled vigilance. He had, he wrote, strong reasons for believing that General Bonaparte was beginning seriously to cherish the idea of escaping from St. Helena. He ordered the navy to keep an even stricter watch around the island. It was indeed true that the hour of deliverance was about to strike for England's prisoner, but not in the way that the Secretary of State for the Colonies imagined.

Early in April matters became desperate. Count Montholon succeeded in overcoming the Emperor's prejudices and persuaded him to receive Dr. Arnott. The English surgeon's first impressions were conveyed by Sir Thomas Reade to the Governor in the following letter:

"Dr. Arnott informed me that he had never found him, during any of his visits, in the state in which he had been described by Dr. Antommarchi. From what I could learn generally, out of Dr. Arnott's conversation, he appears to think that General Bonaparte is not affected by any serious complaint, probably more mental than any other. Count Bertrand had asked him his opinion of General Bonaparte : he told him that he saw no danger whatever. During his visit this morning he recommended him to rise and get shaved. He replied that he was too weak at present, that he would shave when he was a little stronger. He always preferred shaving himself. His beard is very long, and Dr. Arnott describes his looks in consequence to be horrible. . . ."*

Thus they chattered about the dying man. Possibly Arnott had allowed himself to be influenced by the scepticism so long shown at Plantation House. Or he may have been intimidated by Stokoe's fate, and thus have considered it imprudent to give an opinion prematurely. He may have wished to wait for irrefutable evidence before venturing to declare

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

Napoleon to be "*in imminent danger.*" An incident occurred on April 14, which serves to show that Sir Hudson Lowe was still cherishing incredulous hostility, and was quite capable of incriminating the surgeon of the 20th Regiment, as he had done Stokoe.

On that day Dr. Arnott had pressed his refractory patient very strongly to take some medicine, on which Napoleon good-humouredly said that he must not urge him to do a thing in the same manner as he would one of the soldiers of his regiment. This bit of pique led him to speak of the British soldiers in general. He praised their bravery and constancy, and said he would send the officers of the 20th Regiment Coxe's "Life of Marlborough," which had been presented to him by the Hon. Robert Spencer.

The volumes were accordingly sent to Captain Lutyens, the orderly officer who had succeeded Captain Nicholls, and by him forwarded to Major Jackson, the commanding officer, to whom Dr. Arnott explained the donor's object. During the afternoon Napoleon asked the doctor how the officers liked the books, but something diverted his attention and no answer was given.

The next day Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Dr. Arnott : "Captain Lutyens has mentioned that you have again been spoken to regarding the books, but that, something occurring in the room, you were enabled to avoid making a reply. This is so far well, as the attempt to make you the channel of communication in such matters, *they well know*, is foreign to your professional duties, and it will probably, therefore, not have been made without some ulterior object in view."

Even Forsyth acknowledges "that Napoleon's kindly meant present might, under the circumstances, have been accepted. He did not send them as coming from 'the Emperor,' nor write the objectionable title in them ; nor was there much likelihood of a British regiment being seduced from its allegiance by adding to its library a few books, the gift of Napoleon."

This absurd letter shows how thoroughly Dr. Arnott was exposed to the experiences Stokoe had to pass through. It shows that he was the object of the same suspicions, and might have been the victim of similar accusations. Nor did the affair end here. Major Jackson took upon himself to improve upon the

Governor's ill humour and to blame Lutyens in cutting terms for having been, on this occasion, what Sir Hudson Lowe called the "*channel of communication.*" The orderly officer, who was most scrupulous in attention to his duty, was justly offended, and answered sharply, with the result that he was superseded.

Such were the bickerings at St. Helena while the Emperor's life was drawing to a close.

On April 16, Dr. Arnott thought the crisis sufficiently near and certain to be announced to Sir Hudson Lowe. On learning that General Bonaparte's death was now only a question of days, or even of hours, the Governor awoke to the responsibility he had incurred, and grew much alarmed. He put all the medical men on the island at Napoleon's service, and cancelled all orders which might have impeded their instant communication with Counts Bertrand and Montholon. But help was now useless, no matter whence it came, and the Emperor knew it. When, on the 18th, Dr. Arnott was prosing about some new remedy, "No," said he, with the tone of a man who has made up his mind, "England calls for my corpse; I will not keep

her waiting, and shall die very well without drugs. . . . Your Ministers have chosen this horrible rock, upon which the lives of Europeans are exhausted in less than three years, in order to end my existence by assassination.* And how have I been treated since my arrival here? There is no species of indignity or insult that has not been eagerly heaped upon me. The simplest family communications, which have never been interdicted to any one, have been refused to me. No news, no papers, from Europe, have been allowed to reach me; my wife and son have no longer existed for me; I have been kept six years in the tortures of close confinement. The most uninhabitable spot on this inhospitable island, that where the murderous effects of a tropical climate are most severely felt, has been assigned to me for a residence; and I, who used to ride on horseback all over Europe, have been obliged to shut myself up within four walls, in an unwholesome atmosphere. I have been destroyed piecemeal in premeditation. Sir

* In the English edition of this work, published in 1825, in place of the word *assassination* a row of asterisks appears, although *assassinat* is in the French edition. [E.S.S.]

Hudson Lowe has been executor of the high deeds and exploits of your Ministers." *

Three weeks later, on Saturday, May 5, 1821, a storm broke over St. Helena. Its severity was unparalleled in an island where "the trade-winds blew without interruption, but always with equal moderation," † where whole generations passed away without knowing the sound of thunder. At sunset an appalling wind was levelling and scattering the tents of those who guarded Longwood, and rendering the harbour untenable, so that the squadron had to make for the open sea. At that time Napoleon drew his last breath.

The Emperor had wished a *post-mortem* examination to be held, in the interests of his son, that he might be forewarned against a disease which might prove to be hereditary. It took place the following day, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"On a superficial view the body appeared to be very fat, which was confirmed on the first incision. The fat was upwards of an inch thick over the breast, and an inch and a half over the

* Antommarchi, "The last Days of Napoleon." London, 1825.

† Masselin, "Sainte Hélène."

abdomen. The lungs were quite sound. The heart was of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat. Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach it was found the seat of extensive disease. Strong adhesions connected the whole upper part, particularly about the pylorus (or pit of the stomach), with the concave surface of the left lobes of the liver ; and on separating these an ulcer was discovered, which penetrated the coats of the stomach, one inch from the pylorus, sufficiently large to admit the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease, or scirrhous portions advancing to cancer. This was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac extremity for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus was the only part which appeared in a healthy state, and the stomach was filled with a large quantity of fluids resembling coffee-grounds. The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm, and the liver was perhaps a little larger than was natural. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease

in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance was observed in the liver." *

It would appear from this report, signed by Dr. Arnott and three other English surgeons, that Napoleon died of cancer. In that case Stokoe's diagnosis expressed in his bulletins, that it was a case of chronic hepatitis, was incorrect.

This disease and dysentery were believed at the beginning of the century to be endemic at St. Helena. Both of them made fearful havoc among newly arrived Europeans, including the soldiers of the garrison and the sailors of the Admiral's squadron. It will suffice to quote one example, that of the *Conqueror*. Between July 1817 and December 1818, out of a crew of six hundred, one hundred succumbed.

Of course the British Government concealed such facts as these. They were too powerful a weapon to be placed in the hands of those who accused it of having transported Napoleon to an insanitary rock.

During the third year of his sojourn at Longwood, the Emperor feared that he was attacked by hepatitis. He detested the climate of St.

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

Helena, and many times demanded a less murderous abode. His claim was refused without being even discussed. The end came a few years later.

It is easy to see that, after his decease, it was to his gaolers' interest to prove the non-existence of the malady which he gave as the *raison d'être* of his complaints.

At the *post-mortem* examination, however, where the French were represented by Antommarchi, it was necessary to mention in the report the abnormal adhesion of the liver to the diaphragm and the stomach. One of the English surgeons even diagnosed enlargement.

Forsyth says: "The liver was, as might be expected, particularly examined, and the moment the operator took it out Dr. Shortt said it was enlarged. All the medical men present, however, differed from him, and Dr. Arnott said there was nothing extraordinary in the appearance of the liver; it might probably be a large one, but certainly not larger than the liver of any man of the same age and size as Bonaparte. . . ." It is well to notice the contradictory terms used in this one sentence. As Dr. Shortt persisted in his opinion, Sir Thomas Reade, the Governor's

lieutenant, intervened, saying that "they ought all to be prepared to give a decided opinion as to the state of the liver, and all the doctors re-examined it, and reiterated their former opinions."*

There is therefore no proof that Stokoe was mistaken in his diagnosis. It is true that he only mentions the hepatitis and that a still more serious malady escaped his notice, but, at that time, very little was known of cancer of the stomach. Neither O'Meara nor Antommarchi entertained the slightest suspicion that Napoleon was suffering from it. They also treated the Emperor for disease of the liver. As for Dr. Arnott, he does not seem to have known much of the case upon which he was called in consultation until the *post-mortem* took place.

A point by no means to be overlooked is that the surgeon of the *Conqueror* was only in attendance at Longwood for five days, and then under conditions which probably prevented his mind being sufficiently free to allow him the full exercise of his judgment.

After all, the main object of this book is not to pronounce upon Stokoe's medical knowledge,

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

but upon his professional uprightness. The doctor, at his own personal risk, and in defiance of the powers above him, declared that Napoleon was seriously ill, and that his days were being shortened by his being refused, under pretext of safety, the attendance he wished for. Every one knows how much depends upon the confidence which a patient has in his doctor; and it is very clear that Napoleon had confidence in Stokoe. He was attracted to him at their first interview, and two details show how much he regretted the loss of his services. On Stokoe's return from England in August for his trial, the Emperor summoned him to his side no less than three times, dictating urgent letters in which he demanded "son chirurgien Stokoe." Again in his delirium it was for Stokoe that he called. Forsyth says: "He frequently did not know Dr. Arnott and called him Stokoe."

If sundry historians are to be believed, Sir Hudson Lowe exclaimed, on hearing that his prisoner had just drawn his last breath: "His death will be my ruin!" This hardly seems a probable remark to fall from his lips, but, if he did utter it, later circumstances justified his foreboding.

He was allowed to imagine at first that his good and loyal service was about to be duly recompensed. Lord Bathurst wrote :

" I am happy to assure you that your conduct, as detailed in these despatches, has received his Majesty's approbation. It is most satisfactory to his Majesty to observe that no measures were omitted by you for the purpose of placing at General Bonaparte's disposal the best medical advice, and of affording every relief and alleviation of his sufferings during the latter period of his life of which his state admitted. . . .

" His Majesty has further commanded me to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat that general approbation of your conduct during the time that you have administered the government of St. Helena, which I have on particular occasions had the pleasure of conveying. Placed as you have been in a situation which must, under any circumstances, have been one of heavy responsibility, but which particular events contributed to render yet more difficult and invidious, you discharged your arduous trust with strict fidelity, discretion and humanity, and have effectually reconciled the two main duties of

your command—combining the secure detention of General Buonaparte's person, which was of necessity the paramount object of your attention, with every practicable consideration and indulgence which your own disposition prompted and your instructions authorised you to show to his particular situation."*

Sir Hudson Lowe was received by the King on his return to Europe. Being about to kiss his Majesty's hand, the King seized his instead and shook it heartily, saying, "I congratulate you most sincerely upon your return, after a trial the most arduous and exemplary that perhaps any man ever had. I have felt for your situation, and may appeal to Lord Bathurst how frequently I have talked to him about you."

As a result of this interview the ex-Governor was appointed to the first vacant colonelcy of a regiment (the 93rd) that occurred after his return to England. "This was," remarks Forsyth, "an honourable distinction," and Sir Hudson Lowe regarded it as an earnest of more favours to follow. However, as his historian adds: "Evil days were now before him."

The Emperor had always said that his death

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

would be followed and avenged by a revulsion of public opinion in England, and this prediction was fulfilled. Constant attacks were made upon the system pursued at St. Helena, and, more particularly, upon the exponent of that system. In 1822, O'Meara published his "Napoleon in Exile." That Sir Hudson Lowe's fate was sealed was shown by the icy reception accorded him at a military club, and the drubbing administered to him in a London street by young Emanuel Las Cases, a son of the author of the "Mémorial." He thus lost his last supporters, and so unpopular a man could only embarrass a Ministry. A distant and subordinate post was offered him, that of Commander of the Forces at Ceylon. He accepted it, and proceeded thither with the promise of being speedily raised to the governorship.

His elevation had not taken place three years later (1828) when Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon" appeared. This work contained many pages depreciatory of Sir Hudson Lowe: "We are inclined," says the author, "from a review of his conduct, divesting it so far as we can from the exaggerations of his personal enemies, to think there remain traces of a warm

and irritable temper, which seems sometimes to have overborne his discretion, and induced him to forget that his prisoner was in a situation where he ought not, even when his conduct seemed most unreasonable and provoking, to be considered as an object of resentment, or as being subject, like other men, to retort and retaliation."

This temperate verdict, from so illustrious a writer, was far more effective and wide-reaching than O'Meara's virulent accusations. Sir Hudson Lowe was fully aware of this fact, and felt that he must take up the cudgels for himself. He therefore applied for leave and returned to England.

On his way home, he touched at St. Helena and revisited Longwood. "That spot," says his biographer, "on which the interest of Europe had been for more than five years so keenly concentrated. And what was the sight that met his eye? Since his departure the place had been appropriated to the meanest uses. The chief approach to it was through a large pig-sty, which occupied the site of what had formerly been the offices. Out of the windows of what had once been the billiard room, through broken

panes, protruded bundles of hay; and a thrashing machine was placed in the closet which adjoined the bedroom. The room itself—that room in which Napoleon Bonaparte had breathed his last—was converted into a stable!" *

It is possible that Sir Hudson Lowe was, as Forsyth assures us, deeply impressed by this scene of desolation and vandalism. But what would sadden him far more deeply would be his reflections upon his own return, as he stood on the spot where his pride had been so puffed up, and where he had revelled in having the greatest man of modern times under his sway. At that time he had faith in his country's gratitude—he believed that his zeal and pitiless vigilance would be rewarded by a shower of gold and favours. Yet, in spite of royal congratulations, he had been refused a pension of £1500, such as was readily given to Colonel Wilkes, his predecessor at St. Helena, for much more commonplace services. He had been exiled to the East Indies, and placed in a retired position, inferior to his former one. Now he was compelled to return to London, in order to resist attacks which were constantly being made

* Forsyth, "History of the Captivity."

upon him, and to struggle against daily increasing unpopularity.

When he reached England he found that the Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Ministry, and Earl Bathurst President of the Council. This combination of circumstances seemed to favour his cause, and he consulted Lord Bathurst as to the expediency of publishing an answer to Sir Walter Scott's work. The Minister did not encourage him in this idea; on the contrary, he advised him not to embark upon a wordy strife, the result of which could not but be doubtful. Moreover, he said that his best chance of succeeding to the governorship of Ceylon lay in being on the spot should a vacancy occur; he therefore counselled him to return thither without delay.

The reception accorded to Sir Hudson Lowe by the Duke of Wellington was still more icy. On his begging that the question of a pension might be referred to the House of Commons, the Duke told him plainly that it would be quite useless—he knew that the House would unanimously oppose such a grant.

Sadly, therefore, the ex-governor of St. Helena wended his way back to the East, and, for the

next three years, nothing more was heard of him. He sent in his resignation in 1831, after having seen the coveted post fall vacant and pass into the hands of an unimportant rival. Nor did he ever afterwards hold any public office.

In 1843 he drew up a memorial to the Queen, in which he said, recapitulating his various disappointments :

"The government of the island of Ceylon had thrice fallen vacant, and the chief authority in the Ionian Islands (where my local services at their liberation and in the discharge of *civil* and military duties subsequently had contributed to form a strong claim for re-appointment), *four* times during the period of which I have been speaking. Vacancies had also arisen on other stations, but on none of these occasions were either my local or general services, or any claim arising from past disappointments, taken into that consideration which I might have hoped should have been their due.

"The several commands in India had also repeatedly fallen vacant during the above period, but, although my name had been taken down as a candidate for employment in that quarter, no result followed."

Sir Hudson Lowe died in 1844, poor and broken down in spirits, thus justifying a saying of Napoleon's, who remarked that : "There are men whom governments make use of to serve their own ends, but whom they throw on one side when done with."

Sir Robert Plampin's fate was a happier one. By consistently playing second fiddle, public attention was not drawn to him. He was created Vice-Admiral and Commander of the Squadron patrolling the Irish Sea, and later retired in peace.

Balmain's accounts show him to have been a timid man, but this characteristic did not prevent his occasionally displaying what is best expressed as "cheek." On his return from St. Helena he had a mind to possess the most coveted of all Orders, that of the Bath. In defiance of custom and, doubtless, trading upon the excellent reports received from Sir Hudson Lowe, he made direct personal application for it. The reply he received from Lord Melville, Secretary of State for the Navy, is curiously interesting. The most scrupulous courtesy is cleverly used to veil the irony of one who had formed his

own opinion about the claimant, both as regarded his private life and the exploits of which he boasted so loudly. It was dated February 14, 1821, and is given in full below :

" In replying to the letter which you took the trouble of addressing to me on the 5th instant, it is unnecessary for me to offer any other observation on that part of it which relates to your conduct while Commander-in-Chief on the St. Helena station, than that it was highly creditable to yourself as well as satisfactory to his Majesty's Government ; and, I have every reason to believe, also to your colleague, Sir Hudson Lowe. In bearing testimony, however, to those opinions, which I do with much pleasure, I feel it my duty to state that I do not consider myself at liberty to submit to his Majesty the name of any naval officer to be a Knight Commander of the Bath (the particular mark of favour you mention to me) for any services except such as were performed during war against the enemy.

" The respectability of your character as an officer is well known and acknowledged in the navy; but the accidents of the service, which

certainly have not been within your control, have not placed you in those situations, either as flag-officer or captain, where you might have had opportunities of earning in action those decorations which others have received who have been more fortunate, though not more deserving. To follow any other rule in conferring that mark of distinction would, I am persuaded, lead to much inconvenience and be of great detriment to his Majesty's service.

"(Signed) MELVILLE."

Lord Melville must have smiled inwardly as he turned these phrases with their double meaning.

Stokoe had had an opportunity, a short time before on the quay at Portsmouth, to give Sir Robert Plampin his opinion of him in less measured terms.

The doctor was sent back to England immediately after his condemnation, but, "in consideration of his long services," his judges advised the Admiralty to grant him half-pay. As, however, his position was not quite that of a retired officer, it was considered more fitting that he should have a pension of

£100 a year from the Civil List. He also received a favour which had been refused to Admiral Malcolm's surgeon — £300 additional pay, to cover the time of his sojourn at St. Helena, "also $\frac{11}{12}$ths of my full pay from the time I invalided till my return to the *Conqueror*. This spontaneous generosity," says Stokoe, "spoke volumes, and was gratifying to me. It showed that I was not regarded as a culprit; it evinced milder feelings towards me, and encouraged the hope that, after the lapse of a few years, I might be restored to my rank."

Unhappily the doctor's hopes were vain. He had brought back from St. Helena a copy of the proceedings of the court-martial, made during the trial by Davies, the clerk. On comparing it with the official copy, which he only obtained after twelve months' delay, he discovered the fraud committed at Sir Robert Plampin's instigation, and felt it incumbent upon him to despatch the following letter to John Barrow, Secretary to the Admiralty:

"Rochester, *November* 4, 1820.

"Sir,

"I beg to acquaint you for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty

that I have received the attested copy of the minutes of the court-martial held on me at St. Helena, with which I had requested to be furnished.

"The incorrect report in the said minutes of the Secretary's answer to my question whether he heard the Admiral desire me to return the note in which he enclosed Count Bertrand's first note to me induces me to send for their Lordships' perusal a copy of the minutes printed a few months after my arrival in England, the publication of which has hitherto been prevented by the entreaties of my friends.

"In justice to myself, however, I cannot suffer their Lordships to be deceived upon this very important point by the conduct of those who have authorised the insertion of the words 'or a copy of it.'

"I therefore humbly beg leave to call upon their Lordships to demand of the President and members who composed the said Court to state whether the additional words '*or a copy of it*' were added to the Secretary's answer by their authority or not. And I also beg that they may be required to state the contents of the paper presented to the Court by Rear-Admiral

Plampin after the prosecution and defence had terminated which he stated to be 'a correction of the evidence of yesterday.'

"On the motive of the alteration complained of and the nature of the evidence throughout (but more particularly the report of my conversations with the Rear-Admiral) I shall forbear to make any comment. Their Lordships will duly appreciate it. I only think it necessary to add that I am prepared to prove, by the testimony of the most respectable individuals present at the trial, that mine is a faithful report of the Secretary's answer.

"I beg also to call their Lordships' attention to the omission of the date in the Secretary's statement relative to the second charge during the prosecution, and to compare it with his answer to my question, whether he witnessed the conversation between the Admiral and me on the seventeenth of January, after my return from Longwood. This omission, however, cannot prevent the impression that such prevaricating testimony must make upon their Lordships' minds, as the Admiral acknowledges to have received it from me on the seventeenth, and thus proves that his directions to the Secretary

to be in the office were by previous arrangement and not in consequence of any conduct of mine during my attendance on General Bonaparte, as he and his Secretary have both stated in their evidence. This offers, I hope, some apology for the criminal precaution I have been guilty of in my endeavour to avoid the degrading duties of a spy.

"Perhaps I should not have troubled their Lordships again, if it had not been communicated to me within the last few days that Admiral Plampin had preferred a complaint to one of the Lords of my conduct to him, subsequent to his arrival in England, and that if I advanced a step further I was to lose my pension.

"If their Lordships have given such a pledge it may be necessary to acquaint them that, however deeply I may have felt his ungenerous conduct to me as an officer to one who had sacrificed much personal comfort in defending his character from calumny in the island, yet he has never been reproached with it. It was only of that part of it so unbecoming the character of an officer and gentleman that I have hitherto complained. It is for having been told that

my assertions were false, that *I was a prevaricator*, and that he had been entertaining a Frenchman in his house.

"Such conduct in a man to whom I had been endeavouring to recommend myself by every attention in my power, and to whom I looked up as my friend and protector, excites feelings in my mind that cannot be described, and might, in the opinion of many, justify a spirit of recrimination on my part where facts are not wanting to prove that those, who have been chiefly instrumental in depriving me of the fruit of twenty-five years' service, degrading me by a public trial, were not always the most strict observers of those laws and regulations for the alleged violation of which I have experienced so much real suffering and endless anxiety.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN STOKOE."

The epistle was daring, to say the least of it. The reply it evoked was of a calmer nature :

"Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the

4th instant, with its enclosure, I have it in command to acquaint you that their Lordships cannot comply with your request of calling on the members of the court-martial on the subject of the mistake which you allege to have taken place in the minutes.

"As to the other point, their Lordships are not aware of the communication to which you allude, but they would most certainly, in the event of its being necessary, have taken the most effective measures for the protection of Rear-Admiral Plampin from any insult which might have been offered to him in consequence of any public conduct of his during the late command.

"(Signed) JOHN BARROW."

Had the Admiral really kept silence about the Portsmouth affair? Possibly, for his conscience was not at ease where Stokoe was concerned. The doctor persisted in believing that Sir Robert Plampin had brought the incident before the Admiralty Board, but that there, where every detail of the events at St. Helena was known, he was advised not to carry the affair any farther, for fear of scandal. In

any case, it is evident that Stokoe was considered a man to be managed, and one whose complaints were well founded.

He kept his pension, and it was increased by the liberality of the Bonaparte family. Count de Las Cases spoke of him to "Madame Mère," King Louis, and Cardinal Fesch, all of whom sought to give him practical proofs of their gratitude "for the services which he had rendered to the Emperor."

He found in King Joseph yet a fourth benefactor. This Prince, Napoleon's eldest brother, was then living at Philadelphia, but his wife, Queen Julia, had remained at Brussels with her two daughters. Towards the end of 1821, the younger, a girl of eighteen, wished to rejoin her father in America, and Stokoe was chosen to act as her medical attendant on the voyage. They started from Antwerp on a small brig, the *Ruth and Mary*, specially chartered for the occasion. The crossing took two months to accomplish, and the seamanship left much to be desired. Dr. Stokoe was constantly on the alert, and had occasion more than once to call the captain's attention to gross negligence on the part of both men and officers. When the nights were

calm the watch quietly slept at their posts, and the Princess's cook, an inveterate drunkard, narrowly escaped setting fire to the store-room by descending to draw spirits with a naked light.

As a rule the weather was terrible. In all his twenty years' experience the ex-surgeon of the *Conqueror* could not recall having seen such tremendous seas. Princess Charlotte would hardly have arrived in safety but for his care and, above all, his vigilance. King Joseph was not slow in testifying his gratitude. He was not satisfied with bestowing ample rewards, but treated Stokoe for the future as a personal friend.

The doctor remained on the other side of the Atlantic until 1823, when he recrossed it to fetch the elder daughter, Princess Zenaïde, who with her husband, Prince de Canino,* was on her way to rejoin her father. In 1824 a third and last mission was entrusted to him, and he returned to Europe with Charlotte, who came back the betrothed of Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte.

During the rest of his life he only saw Joseph occasionally and at long intervals, first in

* (Musignano,) Lucien's eldest son. [E. S. S.]

England, then, in 1840, at Florence, but an affectionate correspondence was carried on between them, which only closed with the ex-king's death in 1843. It is quite foreign to our subject, otherwise it would have been interesting to include it in this volume.

A stroke of apoplexy carried Stokoe off suddenly, on September 13, 1852. He had married late in life, and his last years were saddened by the loss, not only of his wife, but of his two children, a son and a daughter.

A perusal of his papers shows clearly that after his trial he was constantly hankering either for an opportunity of justifying himself before an impartial tribunal, or of enlisting the English public on his side.

Immediately on his return from St. Helena, he sought the advice of one of his former superiors, Alexander Skene, the captain of the *Bulwark*, who wrote :

"Against the award of a court-martial it may be dangerous to give an opinion—but this I must say, that I can never admit that anything appears *against you* either as a gentleman or as an officer : and my opinion of my old friend is therefore unchanged."

Towards the end of 1820, Stokoe made the futile attempt already mentioned to have an inquiry made into the change in the deposition which in one case altered the meaning of the evidence.

Nine years later he submitted the whole of the documents to an eminent lawyer, who easily found many illegal points. However, his verdict was not encouraging; in military matters British legislation seems to allow neither of appeal nor revision.

In 1842, Sir George Cockburn, who was a participator in the injustice showered upon Stokoe, became First Lord of the Admiralty. The doctor applied to him, begging to be reinstated upon the register of naval surgeons. He received the following reply:

"LEAMINGTON, WARWICKS:
"*Oct.* 15, /42.

"SIR,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt at this place of your letter of the 10th instant, and I am sorry to learn from it that circumstances have caused me to appear so much connected with the misfortunes you have mentioned.

"It must, I hope, be quite unnecessary for me to assure you that I have never entertained any adverse feeling towards you personally, and though the jealousy which prevailed relative to all the St. Helena transactions seems to have pressed so hardly on you, I have always considered the errors attributed to Dr. O'Meara and you to have proceeded from your having been placed in so trying a position, rather than from any real intention on your parts to oppose and counteract the orders and intentions of the Government and of your immediate commanding officers. I do not recollect, nor can I here refer to documents to inform me, why you were ordered to be tried by court-martial on your return to St. Helena, nor what description of complaint, if any, was made to the Admiralty relative to the imprudent transaction at Portsmouth of which you speak; but I will inform myself on these points when I return to town, and you may rest assured of my disposition to view the whole as little unfavourably as the facts set forth in the official documents may permit, and, at all events, I cannot but much lament your having experienced such severe misfortunes"

There is no trace among Stokoe's papers of Sir George Cockburn's fulfilment of his promise, nor does it appear that he ever gave the matter another thought. He may, however, have taken it up only to let it drop again, as a thing settled and finished. To have granted an amnesty to the doctor would have been to condemn the officers who, to please Sir Robert Plampin and Sir Hudson Lowe, had so calmly pronounced him guilty. The First Lord of the Admiralty dared not go so far. Still, his letter is nevertheless interesting. It proves that the paltriness of certain accusations was thoroughly recognised in official circles, and that both Stokoe and O'Meara were regarded as victims of the narrow-minded policy exercised by the British Ministry towards the captive Emperor.

In 1844 the two surgeons were very hotly blamed in an article published in the *United Service Magazine*. The anonymous writer endeavoured to throw upon them the whole responsibility for the Emperor's death, which he attributed to their treatment of imaginary hepatitis.

This attack appears to have made a great impression upon Stokoe, and it was then that

he began, in self-defence, to arrange his notes in the form of a memoir. In this way he spent about ten months, but calm reflection and private reasons kept him from publishing it. The doctor's position had become singularly precarious. He had a family to support and was existing on the meagre pension doled out by Government. He feared that the loss of this might ensue if he unmasked the infamy to which he had been a victim, and, therefore, once more resigned himself to silence.

Forsyth's book appeared just after his death. The part he had played at St. Helena, in common with other facts, was greatly distorted. This aroused the indignation of a Mr. Graham, an old friend of the doctor's, and he implored the nephew,* into whose hands the papers had fallen, to publish the memoir. He wrote:

"Mr. Stokoe's papers, which are in your hands, will, I have no doubt, contain materials

* This was my grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Stokoe. It is evident from his marginal notes that he studied the papers carefully. He would probably have published them had his busy life allowed, for Dr. Stokoe, his uncle, had taken the place of his father, whose death preceded his own birth. [E. S. S.]

sufficient to vindicate him from any attacks that may be found in Mr. Forsyth's work. Whatever Mr. Stokoe stated from his own personal knowledge may be depended upon from the character of the man, which was thoroughly honest, truthful and gentlemanly. . . .

"I remember that Mr. Stokoe told me that in the evidence given against him at the court-martial there was downright perjury committed. Probably there is evidence of that among his papers."

In spite of this advice the precious papers were left, neglected, in a drawer, until a foreigner, passing by chance through London almost half a century later, took them from their resting-place to work out, with their help, John Stokoe's justification. Tardy though this may be, he ventures in these last lines to express the hope that it will be considered to be complete.

COPIES AND FACSIMILES OF LETTERS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

EXPLANATIONS REFERRING TO THE "CLANDESTINE" HOLMES CORRESPONDENCE

In addition to writing to Admiral Plampin in order to exonerate Stokoe, Holmes, O'Meara's Agent, apologised to the doctor in the following lines :

"Lyons Inn, Strand, London,
"*November* 23, 1818.

"Sir,

"I have heard with feelings of the most sincere regret that you have been inconvenienced & suspected of crime in consequence of my having sent letters to Dr. O'Meara under cover to you as his friend, and I cannot better evince to you how much I lament the circumstance than by sending you herewith copies of letters written by me to Lord Bathurst & the Lords of the Admiralty on the subject.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient

"Wm. Holmes."

The two letters being exactly the same except as regards the address, it will suffice to give the one sent to Lord Bathurst:

"3 Lyons Inn, Strand, London,
"*November* 14, 1818.

"My Lord,

"Having been informed that Mr. Buckle, owner of the ship *Lusitinia* (which ship was mentioned in the *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday last), had called at the office of that paper for an explanation of the circumstances under which it was deemed necessary to mention the name of Captain Brask, I think it necessary to explain to your Lordship why I addressed Mr. O'Meara under an assumed name, and why I sent his letters under cover to Dr. Stokoe and Mr. Fowler without their sanction.

"Independent of my being Mr. O'Meara's Agent, I have for many years been his private and intimate friend, and as such was consequently not unacquainted with the hostile proceedings adopted towards him, and the illegal difficulties interposed to prevent a direct correspondence with him. And in the possession of this information much surprise cannot exist

at my having addressed him through private channels.

"Dr. Stokoe and Mr. Fowler I heard were his friends, and as such I thought they would not object to receive his letters, but I assure your Lordship with much truth that I have never heard from or seen either Dr. Stokoe or Mr. Fowler, and that I was totally unauthorised by them in the liberty I took of using their names for the purpose of securing the safe delivery of my private letters to Dr. O'Meara.

"With regard to my own individual conduct in sending to Dr. O'Meara the books and letters, I am prepared to justify the proceeding and to prove to your Lordship whenever it is thought necessary that I was guilty of no criminal offence, either by act or intention, in so doing, whatever may have been the opinion or expression used by Sir Hudson Lowe.

"It is to Dr. Stokoe and Mr. O'Meara alone that I owe any apology.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedt. humble servant,

"(Signed) Wm. Holmes."

As Lord Bathurst persistently refused him an

audience, Holmes sent the explanations he had volunteered to Goulburn, Under Secretary of State. He wrote on January 26, 1819, as follows :

"It is impossible for me, Sir, to misconceive the meaning intended to be conveyed by the words 'clandestine correspondence,' and as this is the first time Lord Bathurst has given me an opportunity of explaining why what you are pleased to call 'clandestine correspondence' existed, I avail myself of it, for the purpose of proving to your Lordship that the necessity of it became unavoidable, in consequence of a most illegal and indecent outrage committed by some person in opening a letter of mine addressed to Dr. O'Meara.

"On the 8th August, 1817, I addressed a letter to Lord Bathurst wherein I stated that I had written several times to my client, Dr. O'Meara, from whom I never obtained a reply. And that from having heard from him on subjects unconnected with the purport of my communications, I conceived my letters had miscarried ; and I requested his Lordship would do me the honour to forward my letters, and begged his directions

as to the manner in which they should be sent to Mr. O'Meara, and whether sealed or unsealed.

"You were pleased to reply to this letter on the 11th of the same month; and you acquainted me that Lord Bathurst was not aware of any reason why Mr. O'Meara had not received my letters, and that I might depend upon any that I might have to write in future being forwarded if I sent them under cover to his Lordship; and you concluded your letter by observing that it was not necessary my letters should be sent unsealed.

"With this assurance from Lord Bathurst of the sacred nature of my correspondence, I wrote on the fourteenth August, 1817, to Mr. O'Meara in confidence, and on matters connected with his private affairs alone, and sent it on the same day to Lord Bathurst, with a request that it should be conveyed.

"Judge, Sir, of my surprise and indignation on receiving a letter from Dr. O'Meara, dated twenty-seventh February, 1818, informing me that the letter above-mentioned of the fourteenth of August, 1817, was sent to him from Plantation House, on the thirty-first of December, 1817, with

the seal broken open, and a note from Colonel Wynyard, stating that it was received in that state by the Governor.

"I would not wish to do my Lord Bathurst or his department so much injustice as to suppose, for a moment, after your having written to me to send my correspondence sealed, that my letters were opened in this country. No, Sir, I think that such an illegal and ungentlemanly a proceeding could only have been adopted by a man *whose known conduct justifies such suspicions*.

"I appeal through you, Sir, to Lord Bathurst to know whether such conduct as this did not justify me in endeavouring to secure by private means the safe delivery of my letters to Mr. O'Meara. The Act of Parliament for the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte forbade it not; the local regulations of St. Helena were unknown to me. But, after all, Sir, what is the injury done, or likely to be done, by my private communications? In what have I so materially erred that Lord Bathurst should think proper so far to interfere with my occupation as to think me an unfit person to execute commissions entrusted to my care in the usual course of business? Surely his Lordship must have been

misled by false representations or he would not so unceremoniously have condemned me unheard ; and with this feeling I avail myself of this opportunity now afforded me to give his Lordship such explanation of my conduct as will sufficiently manifest the innocent nature of my correspondence.

" It can scarcely be unknown to his Lordship that, for a considerable time, Count Bertrand has been obliged to expend from three to five hundred pounds sterling monthly, partly in the purchase of the necessaries of life, of which Sir Hudson Lowe refused to supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the French, and partly in the domestic comforts and private expenses of the families at Longwood. The money arising from the sale of Napoleon Bonaparte's plate, which had been broken up at St. Helena, in order to relieve their necessities, with four thousand pounds lent by Count Las Cases, together with nine or ten thousand pounds, the only tangible property of Count Bertrand (and which had been deposited in the hands of Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co.) having been exhausted ; several bills, drawn by Count Bertrand upon a respectable house in

London, were protested. As the French were prevented access to their own resources, application was made to me, as an agent, to endeavour to ascertain the state of some funds which were supposed to exist; or, if that should be found impracticable, to discover if they had not relatives who, when informed of their necessities, would offer pecuniary assistance to a certain extent—namely, five hundred pounds per month, being the sum which had been calculated by them to be absolutely necessary (over and above the allowance furnished by Sir Hudson Lowe) for the maintenance of the families at Longwood. And in order to prevent any further protesting of Count Bertrand's bills, I was requested to accept bills, drawn by him, to the amount of eighteen hundred pounds, at the rate of two hundred pounds per month; and I was also desired to send out, occasionally, pamphlets and papers.

"In order to guarantee me from any loss, such communications were made to me as enabled me to ascertain that a sum, not exceeding three thousand pounds sterling, would be deposited in my hands; I was also directed to obtain some information touching the state of the

funds. These communications were wholly of a private nature, and altogether foreign to politics. I felt a pleasure in the task committed to my charge, and happy in the thought that I might perhaps contribute to alleviate their sufferings. I immediately wrote to St. Helena the letters to which so much unmerited importance has been attached, and without any hesitation consented to honour bills drawn upon me as far as eighteen hundred pounds. This, Sir, is the history of my correspondence; and if I have committed a crime in what I have done, it is a crime of so honourable and humane a nature that, if placed again in a similar situation, I should not hesitate to repeat it.

"Had Lord Bathurst condescended to have granted me an interview after the receipt of my letter of December last, I would have convinced his Lordship that my object was to furnish the French prisoners such comforts as they could not procure at St. Helena, either from want of sufficient pecuniary means, the locality and remoteness of that island, or were denied to them by Sir Hudson Lowe.

"I am aware that Count Las Cases has often requested that books, pamphlets, etc., should be

sent out to Napoleon Bonaparte, and also that he is grieved to hear from Count Bertrand that only twenty-seven volumes of new publications, with fifteen volumes of the 'Lettres Normandes et Champenoises,' have been received at Longwood for nearly two years; and that even some of those were books published during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte himself. I am aware, also, that books, pamphlets and newspapers, which you declared in your letter of the first of April, 1818, it was your intention to send out to Napoleon Bonaparte, had not arrived at Longwood so late as the middle of last August; and that Napoleon Bonaparte never receives any French newspapers, although in your said letter you state that the *Journal de Commerce* and some other French newspapers will be regularly forwarded for the use of General Bonaparte. Moreover, as, in your letter of the twenty-eighth February, you inform the Count that you would from time to time apply to him for payment of the books you might send out to St. Helena, and as he knew that those which had been promised had not arrived at Longwood, it was not extraordinary that he felt it incumbent upon him to employ an agent in London to purchase and

send out such books, etc., as he ordered; and having applied to me for that purpose, surely my employment cannot be deemed either unnecessary or inexpedient.

"The books alluded to in my former letters I am willing to send for examination to any person Lord Bathurst may think proper to appoint; and to be shipped by that person (or any other) to St. Helena; I also pledge my honour that they contain no letters, nor papers, nor clandestine information of any description whatever, and I am ready to give his Lordship any security he may desire in support of my statement.

"If Lord Bathurst will do me the honour to name a bookseller, I will, in future, order books to be sent by him, in any manner his Lordship may direct, for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte; and my sole interference in the business shall be the ordering and paying for them.

"Your obedient servant,

"W. Holmes."

RECORD OF THE MEDICAL SERVICE OF DR. STOKOE

AS SUPPLIED TO HIM BY THE ADMIRALTY

AT HIS REQUEST

November 19, 1822

NOTE.—This record only gives the doctor nineteen years, four months, and two weeks service, but it does not include time spent on land without being attached to a vessel, though such time would be reckoned when his retirement was due.

No. 23.

Ships.	Entry.	Quality.	Discharge.	Time. Y.	M.	W.	D.
Unicorn	12 October 1796	Surg. Mate	9 Jany 1797	3	-	-	-
Glatton	10 January 1797	do	21 Novem 1798	Being the extent of Time allowed being an inferior Medical officer			
Africa	22 Novem 1798	do	27 April 1800				
Tigre	28 April 1800	Actg Surgeon	1 May 1800				
do	2 May 1800	Surgeon	7 April 1803	2	12	-	5
Monarch	8 July 1803	do	21 Aug 1803	-	1	2	3
Acasta	1 Sept 1803	do	28 Nov 1804	1	3	-	5
Lapwing	5 Aug 1805	do	6 Sept 1805	-	1	-	5
Thunderer	9 Sept 1805	do	26 Nov 1808	3	2	3	2
Magicienne	28 Jany 1809	do	22 May 1810	1	4	-	3
Leopard	23 May 1810	do	22 Sept 1810	-	4	1	4
Canada P.S.	5 October 1810	do	9 October 1813	3	-	-	5
Vernon [illegible]	10 October 1813	do	25 May 1814	-	8	-	4
Trechsmetchel do	12 June 1814	do	31 July 1814	-	1	3	1
Antelope	29 August 1815	do	28 Sept 1815	-	-	3	4
Malta	17 Novem 1815	do	9th Dec 1815	-	-	2	3
Ramillies	6th Decem 1815	do	28 May 1816	-	6	1	2
Shipley C.S.	3 Novem 1816	do	11 Novem 1816	-		1	3
Canada C.S.	5th Decem 1816	do	20th Decem 1816	-	.	2	3
Conqueror	21st Decem 1816	do	2 Sept 1819	2	9	-	4
				19	4	2	-

NAVY-OFFICE, *18 November* 1822.

THESE are to Certify, That *Mr John Stokoe* is borne *whose been allowed Pay for the above Ships* on the Books of His Majesty's Ships above-mentioned, the Time and in the Qualities there expressed, being *nineteen Years four Months & two Weeks*

Samuel Inman

Fee 10/6

by Request

F. Lovell

Note from COUNT BERTRAND *summoning* DR. STOKOE *to Longwood, on the occasion of* NAPOLEON'S *first attack*

LONGWOOD, *le* 17 *Janvier*, 1819,
à une heure du matin.

MONSIEUR,

L'Empereur éprouve une crise très violente. Vous êtes le seul officier de santé actuellement en ce pays, à qui il ait témoigné de la confiance. Je vous prie de ne pas perdre un moment pour vous rendre à Longwood, et de demander en arrivant après moi. J'espère que vous arriverez dans la nuit. Je suis fort troublé.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,
Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,
LE CTE. BERTRAND.

MR. LE DOCTEUR STOCKOE.

An order sent to CAPTAIN STANFELL *by the Admiral. Repudiated by him at the Court-martial.*

My dear Sir

The Admiral has desired me to say, that you are to order Mr Stokoe (Surgeon of the Conquérant) to go directly to Longwood and call on Dr Verling, as Buonaparte is very ill

I am
My dear Sir
Yours most truly
Mr Elliott

Bruce
Sunday 17 Jany 1819
20 Minutes pt 4 Oclock
in the Morning

Articles pour remplacer Mr. O'Meara *et donner à* Mr. Stokoe *le caractère de Médecin de Napoléon.*

1e. Le docteur Stokoe est considéré comme le chirurgien de Napoléon, et lui tiendra lieu du chirurgien français, dont il est fait mention au decret du gouvernement Britannique, du 15 août, 1815.

2e. Il ne pourra pas etre ôté sans le consentement de Napoléon, du moins par un simple ordre du gouverneur et surtout pendant le temps que durera la maladie.

3e. Il ne sera soumis pendant le temps qu'il remplira les fonctions de Médecin de Napoléon à aucun discipline ou devoir militaire et sera considéré comme un employé civil anglais.

4e. Il ne devra compte à qui que ce soit de la santé de Napoléon, il rédigera tous les jours, et plus souvent si cela est nécessaire, un bulletin de la santé de Napoléon, dont il fera 2 exemplaires, un pour être remis à un des officiers de

Longwood, et l'autre au gouverneur lorsqu'il le désirera.

5e. Qui que ce soit ne s'ingérera dans ses fonctions medicales ; il ne lui sera imposé aucune restriction pour ses communications avec Napoléon et les français, soit par écrit, soit verbalement, soit le jour, soit la nuit.

6e. Il ne sera tenu de rendre compte de ce qu'il verra ou entendra à Longwood qu'autant qu'il jugera que cela compromettrait son serment d'allégiance envers sa patrie ou son souverain.

7e. Le docteur Stokoe prend l'engagement de servir de son office Napoléon indépendemment de toute prévention ou esprit de parti et comme s'il était son compatriote, de ne faire aucun Bulletin ni aucune relation de ses maladies sans lui en remettre l'original.

8e. Mr. Stokoe, en acceptant ces conditions, préserve l'intégrité de tous ses droits de citoyen et d'officier anglais ; il demande à recevoir de l'amirauté le même traitement que son prédécesseur, et n'entend etre assimilé en rien aux prisonniers français ; le tout avec la permission de son chef, le rear admiral Plampin.

Longwood, *le* 17 *Janvier*, 1819.

Letter from ADMIRAL PLAMPIN *to* DR. STOKOE, *as a result of which the latter refused to continue his visits to Longwood*

BRIARS, *January* 21, 1819.

SIR,

In answer to the letter you left with me yesterday evening I have only to observe, it's of no consequence for me to know what experience you yesterday gained, nor do I conceive it requisite for you to ask my leave to decline your services in aid of General Buonaparte, which I have never commanded ; and never having had any correspondence with Count Bertrand I cannot condescend to commence one with him, for the mere purpose of conveying your wishes on that head, more especially as you did not conceive any previous communication with me requisite, before you gave your full consent to him to become General Buonaparte's Physician,

as has been stated from Longwood to His Excellency the Governor.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ROBT. PLAMPIN,

Rear Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

To MR. JOHN STOKOE,
Surgeon, H.M.S. *Conqueror.*

Letter from COUNT BERTRAND *to* DR. STOKOE, *again summoning him to Longwood*

LONGWOOD, *le* 19 *Janvier*, 1819.

MONSIEUR,

Vous deviez être rendu à dix heures à Longwood. Il est midi, je vous prie de venir aussitôt la presente lettre reçue.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

Vôtre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

LE CTE BERTRAND.

MR. LE DOCTEUR STOKOE.

Written on the outside of the above in pencil by the Admiral:

4¾ P.M. BRIARS,
19*th Jany.*, 1819.

Mr. Stokoe has my permission to pass into Longwood for the purpose of calling on Dr. Verling, with the view of visiting Genl. B. if required, governing himself herein by the regulations established by His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe.

Letter from COUNT LAS CASES *to* DR. STOKOE

PASSY, *le* 16 *7bre.*

MON CHER DOCTEUR,

Je reçois à l'instant une lettre de la Comtesse de Survilliers, (Reine Joseph), qui vous concerne, et demande une immédiate réponse. Malheureusement elle a 3 semaines de date, s'etant egarée dans sa route. Elle vous proposerait d'accompagner sa fille à Philadelphie ; pour la conduire à son père. Le départ devait avoir lieu dans les premiers jours d'octobre. Voyez si cela ne mériterait pas, dans vos circonstances, de vous transporter immédiatement à Bruxelles pour en conférer avec elle. J'ai pensé dans vos intérêts que cette occasion était heureuse pour vous, en ce qu'elle vous garantirait ce qui vous a été promis par elle et son appui auprès de tous les membres de la famille qui vous ont fait de pareilles promesses. Ne perdez donc pas un instant pour répondre ; l'adresse

de la Comtesse de Survilliers est à Bruxelles, hôtel du prince de Galles sur le Parc. Pour un marin comme vous, le voyage à Philadelphie et le retour immédiat ne doit sembler guère plus qu'une course à Paris. Tous les frais d'aller et de retour payés, vous vous entendrez pour le surplus, qui ne m'a pas paru être considérable. J'ai cru comprendre 2000 francs. Mais vous vous en entendrez, et puis l'important, selon moi, est les droits que vous acquererez par là à la bienveillance de la famille et la securité que vous obtiendrez sur les promesses qui vous ont été faites.

Adieu, mon cher Docteur, je ne vous parle pas de moi ; je demeure à peu près dans le même état. J'aurais eu bien du plaisir à vous revoir; mais je prefère encore vos intérêts à ma satisfaction.

Je suis de retour en france depuis un mois ; voici mon adresse chez Madame Possoz, à la muette, No. 8, à Passy, près Paris.

Tout à vous

Le Cte de Las Cases.

Part of a letter in the handwriting of PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

PHILADELPHIA, *Jany.* 1822.

. . . . . .

Sir, I entreat you to regard my house as your home whether I am in town or in the country.

I beg, Sir, that you will keep the enclosed pin as a memento of my gratitude for the good escort you have been for my daughter during her voyage.

Accept, Sir, my perfect esteem and sincere attachment.

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH,

Cte. de Survilliez.

Autograph letter from QUEEN JULIE.

Monsieur, j'ai reçu avec plaisir votre lettre du 24 décembre. je vous remercie de la bonne nouvelle que vous m'avés donnée, et des soins attentifs que vous avés pris pendant le voyage de ma fille. elle m'écrit qu'elle a eu beaucoup à s'en louer. croyés que je ne les oublierai jamais. au milieu de mes inquiétudes, j'étais tranquille en pensant que vous étiés auprès d'elle. mais ces inquiétudes n'étaient que trop fondées; les mauvais temps qui n'ont pas cessé depuis votre départ, les nombreux accidens que l'on annonce de toutes parts, m'avaient justement allarmée. heureusement la Cne Charlotte est enfin auprès de son pere, et je jouis de son bonheur.

agréés, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentimens d'estime et de considération

Julie

Bruxelles le 29 janvier 1822.

P. S. Si vous avés occasion de voir mr le capitaine Mikle, je vous prie de lui dire combien j'ai été touchée en apprenant toutes les attentions qu'il a eues ainsi que vous pour ma fille pendant votre longue et périlleuse traversée.

ma sœur et ma nièce sont bien sensibles à votre souvenir et me prient de vous dire mille choses affectueuses.

Letter from CHARLES BONAPARTE *on the other side of one from* JOSEPH

LONDON, AT MESSRS. STILWELL'S,
December 7, 1826.

MY DEAR DR.,

In forwarding my uncle's letter, I will not lose an opportunity of refreshing me in your memory and renewing to you the sentiment of esteem and friendship which I have entertained towards you ever since I first had the pleasure of your acquaintance. It is needless to tell you how satisfactory it would have proved to me to find you in London, where I shall remain but a few days, and how disappointed I must have been in hearing you were here but a few days ago.

My family, which I have left in America, was well twenty days ago, and I hope to be back to them in Mai. You will see by this statement that the *Canada* and Captain Rogers are more expeditious than the *Falcon* and your friend Eames. We had, in fact, an almost unprecedented passage of sixteen days and a half. Now I shall proceed as fast as possible to

Rome, but hope to be in England again, and most probably in April, where I shall certainly see you. In the meantime, should you meet with a Mr. Audobon, please to present him my best compliments. I remain, in great haste,

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES L. BONAPARTE
(Prince of Musignano).

POINTE BREEZE, 15 *fev.*, 1832.

MONSIEUR,

Les résponses que j'ai reçu de Londres, et celle même que vous m'avez addressée, ne m'ont pas paru encore assez encouragentes pour me faire entreprendre le voiage d'angleterre, je le désire cependant, et je profite du voiage de Mr. Goubaud, artiste distingué, pour vous envoier une gravure dont vous reconnoitrez, j'espère, le sujet puisque c'est celui d'un homme qui conserve tant d'estime et de reconnaissance pour vous, et qui désire tout l'occasion de vous convaincre de tout son attachement.

Votre affectueux,

JOSEPH, Cte. de Survillier.

MR. LE DOCTEUR STOKOE, londres.

[This engraving is now in the possession of my father.—E.S.S.]

Autograph letter from JOSEPH BONAPARTE

Pointe Breeze 2 juillet 1832.

Monsieur

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 12 avril, mes affaires exigent entièrement ma présence en Europe; la confiance que j'ai dans votre jugement est bien propre à me rendre à votre avis, je ne dois pas vous taire que je ne trouve dans votre pays la protection que les lois accordent à tout le monde, l'opinion publique me paraît plus puissante que jamais. Si je me décide à ce voyage dans peu de semaines trouverai-je à votre adresse ordinaire chez votre correspondant N° 22 Arundel Street une lettre de vous qui m'indique où vous serez et vos avis qu'il serait bon que j'eusse à Londres en nouveau débarqué. Je n'aurai pas une aussi nombreuse compagnie qu'au delà de huit personnes: je compterai vivre très obscurément et de n'être nul embarras à qui que ce soit — je n'ai pas besoin de vous recommander la plus entière discrétion, d'autant plus convenable que mon embarquement dépend encore des nouvelles que j'attends d'Europe — agréez je vous prie mon sincère attachement —

Votre affectionné
Joseph (Cte de Survilliers)

— T.S.V.P. je désire

Monsieur le Docteur Hosack.

que vous continuiez à m'envoyer vos lettres, sous le couvert de MM.
de Rham, Filin et Moore à Newyork, je désire avoir la réponse à
cette présente lettre par le canal; il n'est pas impossible que je
la reçoive encore en Amérique, je pense que cette précaution est
bonne, continuez à me donner votre opinion sur mon arrivée à
Londres, selon qu'elles pourra être modifiée par les Evenements,
que vous connaîtrez avant moi.

Letter from ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE COCKBURN

LEAMINGTON, WARWICKS:,
October 15, /42.

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt at this place of your letter of the 10th inst., and I am sorry to learn from it that circumstances caused me to appear so much connected with the misfortunes you have mentioned.

It must, I hope, be quite unnecessary for me to assure you that I have never entertained any adverse feeling towards you personally, and though the jealousy which prevailed relative to all the St. Helena transactions seems to have pressed so hardly on you, I have always considered the errors attributed to Dr. O'Meara and you to have proceeded from your having been placed in so trying and difficult a position, rather than from any real intention on your parts to oppose and counteract the orders and intentions of the Government and of your commanding officers. I do not recollect, nor

can I refer here to documents to inform me, why you were tried by court-martial on your return to St. Helena, nor what description of complaint, if any, was made to the Admiralty relative to the imprudent transaction at Portsmouth of which you speak, but I will inform myself on these points when I return to town, and you may rest assured of my disposition to view the whole as little unfavourably as the facts set forth in the official documents may permit, and at all events I cannot but much lament your having experienced such severe misfortunes.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
COCKBURN.

JOHN STOKOE, Esq.

Extract from a Catalogue issued by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson *of an Auction to be held*
"*At Their Great Room,*
191 *Piccadilly,*
On Tuesday, July 12*th*, 1853,
At One O'clock Most Punctually."
The Property of the late Dr. Stokoe.

79. A case containing a silver knife, fork, spoon, and cup, which formed part of NAPOLEON'S service at St. Helena, given to Mr. Stokoe by Joseph Bonaparte. [£11.]
80. A BROOCH WITH CHAIN AND PIN SET WITH A FINE LARGE BRILLIANT, given to Mr. Stokoe by Joseph Bonaparte. [£25.]
81. A brooch presented to Mr. Stokoe by Joseph Bonaparte, containing an engraved portrait of Napoleon. [9*s*.]
82. A turquoise ring surrounded by small diamonds, and containing a portion of Mr.

Stokoe's hair and some of that of a friend. [37*s.*]

83. A cameo ring with a portrait of Napoleon, given by the present Emperor of France. [£2 2*s.*]

84. A brooch. [£3 7*s.*]

85. A large gold watch seal, containing a mariner's compass, presented to the late John Stokoe, Esq., by the ex-Queen of Spain, wife of Joseph Bonaparte. [36*s.*]

86. Some hair of Napoleon Bonaparte, given to Mr. Stokoe in St. Helena by Napoleon I. [£5 15*s.*]

87. Some hair of Joseph Bonaparte, and by him given to Mr. Stokoe. [16*s.*]

88. An eye-glass. [10*s.*]

89. Impression from a facsimile of the signet ring worn by Louis XVI. [4*s.* 6*d.*]

90. Mr. Stokoe's silver snuff-box. [17*s.*]

91. A mourning ring. [25*s.*]

92. A razor which belonged to Joseph Bonaparte. [6*s.*]

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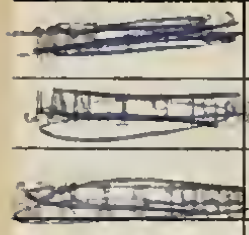

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